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9 Weekly Review
Containing Iraq

7 Arts & Entertainment
A woman of substance

21 Sports
Kafelnikov clinches Hannover berth

INDEX

Arts & Entertainment	7
Business	17
Crossword	23
Movies/TV	23
Opinion	8
Sports	24

Clinton: Saddam has accepted all UN demands

By HILLEL KUTTLER and news agencies
WASHINGTON — Saddam Hussein backed down and now accepts all UN demands for unhindered access to suspected weapons sites, and thereby avoided imminent American air strikes, President Bill Clinton declared yesterday.
Speaking with Defense Secretary William Cohen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Henry Shelton, and National Security Adviser Sandy Berger beside him, Clinton said the onus remains on Iraq to comply with its latest agreement or risk attack.
The US and Britain, with international support, "were poised to act militarily if Iraq had not reversed course," and it was that threat that produced "the outcome we preferred — Saddam Hussein reversing course, letting the inspectors go back to work without restrictions or conditions," Clinton told reporters in the White House.
The US "was ready" to attack Iraq on Saturday night, when the mission was cancelled upon word that Saddam had written to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan that he was prepared to accede to American demands, Clinton said.
Cohen confirmed that Clinton "did issue an order" for an attack Saturday night. Asked about the time frame before the US called off the strike, Cohen said, "It was... very close."
The US will "test" Iraq's latest commitments immediately, Berger said, and "if they do not comply, we are prepared to act. We will see whether the actions follow the words."
"We do not believe we have any obligation to go back to the [UN] Security Council" to approve air strikes, Berger added.
The original Iraqi statement was insufficient until three Iraqi commitments were made in three additional letters to Annan, Clinton said, including revoking previous conditions to suspend cooperation with UNSCOM, allowing full inspections that would be "unconditional and complete," and removing conditions to its allowing the full inspections.
Iraqi Trade Minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh said yesterday his country welcomes any peaceful solution to the latest crisis over UN arms inspections.
Asked for a comment on Clinton's statement acknowledging that Iraqi pledges had met UN demands, Saleh told reporters: "Any peaceful solution is good."
Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair said the Iraqi offer would have to be tested on the ground and warned that British forces remain ready to strike without further warning.
"Saddam is now trapped," Blair's spokesman said. "One false move and he can be hit legitimately, and with the kind of international support that would not have been the case before this."
A divided Security Council failed to reach a conclusion on Iraq's latest move after a marathon session on Saturday and was scheduled to meet again yesterday afternoon.
Clinton also stated that the US looks forward to someday working with a successor regime in Iraq. The US intends to "intensify" its work with leading opposition groups in Iraq, he added.
Cohen stated that Clinton "was not calling for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein," but was outlining a "long-term goal" for working with a more democratic Iraq.
US forces, Clinton said, will remain on alert in the region should Saddam renege again on an agreement to allow UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors "unfettered access" to suspected weapons development sites.
"Now let me be clear. Iraq has backed down, but that is not enough. Now Iraq must live up to its obligations," Clinton stated.
Both Cohen and Berger denied that US credibility was tarnished by again not carrying through with threats to attack.

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Clinton: The outcome we preferred. (AP)



Tel Aviv storekeeper Eli Zeba wastes no time putting up new prices yesterday in his grocery store in Nahalat Yitzhak. (Ilan Ossedryve/Israel Sun)

October CPI jumps 3%

Neeman to reassess '99 inflation target

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

The consumer price index (CPI) increased 3 percent in October, taking 1998 inflation up to 7.2%, the Central Bureau of Statistics said yesterday. Inflation, it added, is likely to total 8.7% for the year.
The last time a monthly CPI rose beyond 3% was in January 1989.
The accompanying wholesale index hit 3.2%, its highest monthly increase in a decade.
The sharpest price rises were felt in the housing market, where the index rose 4.2%. The rental sector, where prices are fixed in dollars, leaped 7.4%, reflecting the depreciation of the shekel against the dollar, during October.
Bureau experts were not prepared to say to what extent the shekel's depreciation affected the

CPI. Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel maintains while the dollar is clearly having an effect on prices, many retailers are jumping on the inflation bandwagon and hiking prices for no reason other than to profiteer.
Among the other indexes to show large increases last month were those for fruit and vegetables (2.9%), furnishings and household goods (4.2%), clothing and footwear (7%), which was mainly a seasonal jump, and transport and communications (2.6%).
The effect of the strengthening dollar was not just restricted to the housing market, with prices of domestic appliances climbing by as much as 9.3% in the case of household heaters.
A high November CPI is also predicted by economists, with that for December most likely

following suit, taking inflation well above the 4%-5% forecasts that have been banded around since early summer.
These figures brought a fresh wave of attacks against the central bank and Frenkel, with MKs and industry leaders calling for his resignation. On Thursday, Frenkel announced the second 2% hike in interest rates in a fortnight, which came into force yesterday. As a result, ministers, MKs, economists, and businessmen called for a change of monetary policy, with many saying the time has come to replace Frenkel, or at least create a board of governors, which would substantially reduce his authority.
These issues were the central theme yesterday of a cabinet debate on monetary policy.
See CPI, Page 2

Arafat warns: Our rifles are ready

By DANNA HARMAN

Angry shaking his finger in the air, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat took a step further in the war of rhetoric yesterday, telling members of his Fatah faction: "Our rifles are ready, and we are ready to raise them if they stop us from praying in the holy city of Jerusalem."
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu responded immediately and sharply, saying that Arafat's statement "endangers the entire Oslo agreement and casts a very dark shadow over the Wye agreement, as well."
Netanyahu's communications director, David Bar-Ilan, said that "Arafat is declaring war on the peace process," and his statement is being taken with the "utmost severity" and would be discussed at a special cabinet meeting to be called before the first redeployment.
Sources in the Prime Minister's

Office said Netanyahu had asked the US administration to publicly condemn Arafat's statement.
"It is does not seem right that the Americans would condemn our building at Har Homa — which we maintain is not even related to the

NRP votes against early elections bill, Page 2

Wye accord — and then remain silent in the face of Arafat's clear violations of the agreement," said one source.
Arafat's threats, coupled with recent statements regarding the declaration of a Palestinian State on May 4, "whether they like it or not," come at a time of increased cooperation between the sides and only days before the government

is to carry out the first of its commitments under the Wye accord.
A top Palestinian official indicated that Arafat's strong language is designed to pacify his public, which is frustrated by the various delays in implementing the withdrawal, the plans to build at Har Homa and expand settlements, and the threats of annexation.
Several top Israeli officials, while publicly condemning Arafat's remarks, said they "could understand" his need to "use fighting words when talking to his public."
"Netanyahu," said one top official, "sometimes does the same, although less violently, when he is speaking to the Israeli street."
Cabinet secretary Dan Naveh, coming out of a meeting with chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat, said that while Arafat's recent statements "marred" the atmosphere and "had no place in the talks," implementation is continuing as planned.

Naveh added, however, that bel-ligerent statements would make reaching a permanent-status agreement all the more difficult. "Our main goal is to try to reach the permanent status, and this can come about solely through negotiations. Anyone who thinks he can advance his cause by taking unilateral steps is sorely mistaken," he said.
Erekat said that it is unilateral Israeli actions, such as the building at Har Homa and confiscation of Palestinian land for the building of bypass roads, which are making progress difficult and "making permanent status talks meaningless."
Still, Erekat characterized the meeting as "positive and serious" and said that, since the PA had "carried out all its obligations under the Wye accords," it is now Israel's turn to fulfill its commitments, and that a time line for this has been drawn up.
See ARAFAT, Page 2

The preemptive strike that was

ANALYSIS

inflationary era, when the dollar was our effective currency. This is what last month's record-high 3-percent consumer price index is all about — not a sudden shortage in this or that consumer product nor an extraordinary interest-rate cut or budget increase. It was an

indexation reflex by which price labels were updated by sales people not according to tested demand, but according to an assumption that prices should be effectively dollar denominated.
Now, by hiking interest rates on the eve of yesterday's CPI, the Bank of Israel has made it plain that it will not tolerate a renewed threat on the price stability which it had already achieved.
See ANALYSIS, Page 2

Mecca for 'machers' kicks off

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Jerusalem becomes a mecca for machers tonight, as the 67th Annual General Assembly of the UJA Federations of North America (GA) kicks off with a dazzling "Rhapsody in Blue and White" multi-media musical celebration.
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will address the opening session, which also marks the closing of the Jewish Agency General Assembly. It will also be attended by Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert and a

veritable who's who of North American Jewish and Israeli leaders.
The capital's streets were decked with Canadian and American flags

Apathetic Israelis, Page 3

yesterday, as hundreds of workmen put the final touches on exhibits and meeting halls at the Jerusalem International Convention Center. Throughout the city, preparations were going full tilt for the arrival of close to 5,000 participants for the event, being held here for the first

time to mark Israel's 50th anniversary.
"We're really excited to be here. We haven't been here for five years," said Joy Moncarsh of Los Angeles, who is involved in Hillel and Jewish education. "We've never been to the GA before. We usually come for the Maccabiah Games."
"We're going to return to our roots and get spiritually uplifted," her husband Jerry added.
The GA takes place over the next four days at the JICC and at other sites around the country, with 3,500 North American Jews and some 1,500 Israelis expected to participate.
"We're here to recharge our Jewish batteries," said Brent

Rubin of Toledo, Ohio, who, along with his wife Riki, is attending the GA for the first time.
See GA, Page 2

SHOULD THE FORMER PRISONERS OF ZION LOSE THEIR PENSIONS AND BE FORCED TO LIVE A LIFE OF DISGRACE IN ISRAEL?
Meet former Prisoners of Zion - Yosef Mendelovitz, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, Yosef Begun and Victor Brailovsky.
WHEN: 4 p.m., Wednesday, November 18.
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READ APPEAL FROM FORMER PRISONERS OF ZION on Internet: www.israelvisit.co.il/BehindTheNews

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and International Chairman
of the Jerusalem Foundation
Teddy Kollek
on receiving the highest honor of the German Government, its Order of Merit, for his outstanding contribution to German-Israel relations.
German President Roman Herzog will be awarding the Order of Merit to Mr. Kollek in Jerusalem today.
Mendel Kaplan, Chairman
Ruth Cheshin, President



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NEWS

in brief

Man kills self after stabbing wife

Nahum Mann, 79, of Modi'in, yesterday attempted to murder his wife Ida, 73, by stabbing her several times with a kitchen knife, and then hanged himself. The woman, who was moderately seriously wounded, ran out of the house screaming for help. Neighbors found her with blood streaming from her neck. They called the police and an ambulance. It is still unclear what caused the quarrel, and the wife has not yet been able to speak with the police. *Itm*

Money changer, woman found murdered

A man, 73, who worked as a money changer and a woman, 77, were found with their throats slit yesterday in his Beersheba apartment. Police identified the woman as Hanna Goldberg, but withheld the man's name pending notification of relatives.

The victims were discovered by a cable television installer, who called police after noticing blood seeping from under the apartment door when he came to ring the bell. Police attributed the murders to criminal motives, noting the money changer had recently hired a bodyguard after receiving death threats. *Itm*

US youth appealing extradition for murder named

The Supreme Court yesterday permitted publication of the name of an American teenager, Samuel Sheinbein, appealing an extradition order to face murder charges.

His lawyer David Liba'i said he will not contest the facts of the case and will focus on his mental condition if he stands trial in Israel instead of returning to Maryland. *AP, Itm*

PM raps ministers for backing students

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday chided those ministers who had involved themselves in the student strike, saying they were wrecking the government's "united front."

The criticism was directed mainly at Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who met with protesting student leaders in the past days. Mordechai said in response that the students are "not our enemies" and that they deserve to be taken seriously. "They are our children. They are the best of our youth and the future of this country," he said. *Danna Harman*

Gov't rejects report of 'anti-Arab' bio weapon

Israel yesterday rejected a British *Sunday Times* report that it is trying to identify genes carried only by Arabs that could be used to develop a biological weapon that would harm Arabs but not Jews.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's communications director David Bar-Ilan said such stories "only prove" that there is no limit to human gullibility and also no limit to the desire to sell newspapers. "Asked if he was denying the report, Bar-Ilan said, 'This is the kind of story that does not deserve denial.'" *AP*

NRP votes against early elections bill

By SARAH HONIG

The National Religious Party central committee voted last night against supporting a bill for early elections.

The decision - by a vote of 430-312 - could have far-ranging ramifications on the government's ability to survive the aftermath of the Wye deal.

The vote was held by secret ballot after the delegates, convened in Ramat Gan, heard the party ministers and MKs expound opposing views on the issue. The proceedings were very tense, with occasional shouts and heckles, but no major disturbances.

The only near-scuffles occurred at the outset, when members of the breakaway dovish Meimad appeared carrying placards saying the "NRP is on a dead-end street." The opposing sides were led respectively by Education Minister Yitzhak Levy and Transport Minister Shaul Yahalom. Levy urged the party to vote for early elections, while Yahalom maintained that the government is the most rightist and hence the least of all evils the NRP faces.

Yahalom's proposal won 430 votes, or 58 percent, while Levy's got only 312 votes (42%).

Before the results were published, Levy characterized the differences between himself and Yahalom as "more tactical than ideological, since basically our views are all but identical and we are both hotly opposed to the Wye Memorandum. We should declare our support for the early elections bill's first reading. We will do our best to postpone the vote on the bill for six weeks, during which time much can happen. But we need to make it clear where we stand and the prime minister must know that we mean business. What is at stake is the NRP's credibility. If we don't act now, no one will believe us next time."

Yahalom, in an emotional address, warned that his party



Members of the National Religious Party's central committee discuss the issues last night before voting in Ramat Gan.

(Itan Oseandryer/Israel Sun)

"may be starting the car careening out of control downhill and over the brink. You know where things start, but you can't predict where they will end. This government, with all its faults, is the best from the NRP's point of view. Early elections can lead to the election of (Labor's Ehud) Barak. His first phone call after the victory speech will be to Meretz's Yossi Sarid, then to Abdel Wahab Darawshe,

then to Aryeh Deri, then to Natan Sharansky and Avigdor Kahalani. We will be left out and so will our goals and our best intentions."

The most anti-government speech came from Rabbi Haim Druckman, who is regarded as the unofficial representative of the NRP's spiritual leaders, former chief rabbis Avraham Shapira and Mordechai Eliahu. Druckman contended that "the proper

response for Wye would have been to leave the government outright. It is unthinkable that we would gloss over the deal with Arafat. But in order to prevent a rift among us, the least we must do is to agree to support early elections when the bill comes up for its first reading. That is the bare minimum. [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu must see that we are not in his pocket."

NRP Knesset faction chairman Shmaryahu Ben-Tzur was shouted down when he sought to suggest that the vote in the committee be put off for three more weeks.

The fear in the NRP yesterday was that the losing side in yesterday's vote would refuse to accept the committee's verdict and would forge ahead with its own agenda, thereby bringing the NRP perilously close to a split.

Government wary about success of future inspections in Iraq

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Israeli leaders expressed cautious hope last night that UN weapons inspectors will be able to prevent Iraqi production of non-conventional weapons, but the assessment in the defense establishment is that the inspectors will find it increasingly difficult to do so.

The assessment is that the firm

US stance against Iraq has only delayed an inevitable showdown and that Iraq will pull out all stops to make sure the arms inspectors don't find anything. That way, they can insist the sanctions be lifted and simultaneously keep a non-conventional capability.

"Israel has no illusions about Saddam Hussein's intentions," said Prime Minister Benjamin

Netanyahu in a statement. "There is always doubt as to the degree to which he will fulfill his commitments. We are not prepared to keep our eyes closed and pretend that everything is fine. We must be prepared for every possible situation."

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said Israel believes the US, UK, and the international community will do what is necessary to prevent the creation of danger in the

region. "We hope that the return of the UN weapons inspectors to Iraq will allow for meaningful cooperation to prevent the development of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles," Mordechai said in a statement following President Bill Clinton's address in Washington. Senior Israeli military officials

continue to insist that the probability of Iraq being involved in any conflict with Iraq is low. Saddam has maintained a small capability of striking at Israel and would only do so if he felt his end is near.

The IDF is not lowering its emergency footing and the Home Front Command gas mask distribution centers are still providing 24-hour service at all 65 stations.

Sharon tells settlers to 'run, grab hills'

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Members of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza who yesterday saw a map of the planned second withdrawal said they would continue to establish facts in advance of a pullback.

After a 3 1/2-hour meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon and IDF commanders, some settlement leaders accused Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of creating a Palestinian state.

Military officials focused on tighter security around the settlements, but some settlers warned that the proximity of PA-controlled areas will lead many to desert their homes.

In a speech, Sharon said settlers should "run, grab hills" to establish

facts on the ground before a pull-back takes place.

Yesterday evening soldiers were called to disperse settlers attempting to establish an encampment close to Kedumim. Udi Lieberman, mayor of Karmel Shomron, said he believed such steps were necessary to restore faith among the settlers.

Even the more dovish council members said they were dismayed by the map.

Many vowed to push for early elections. Lieberman said access roads go through areas controlled by Palestinian and three Nahal outposts - Irit, Tsoref and Gintot - will be dismantled.

Uri Zilberman, of the Hebron Hills council, said the IDF will have to be present in force. "It's not clear what the government's red lines are, the borders of 1947 or 1967."

Knesset to start debate on Wye Memorandum today

By NINA GILBERT and LIAT COLLINS

More than two weeks behind schedule, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu makes his long-awaited presentation of the Wye River Memorandum to the Knesset today.

When the deal, signed between Israel and the Palestinians in the

US on October 23, is put to a vote tomorrow night, it is expected to easily be ratified due to the safety net being offered for the accord by the Left, which includes 52 MKs.

All MKs will have a right to speak in the debate on the accord.

Yesterday, Cabinet Secretary Dan Naveh presented Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon with an authorized

Hebrew translation of the agreement for distribution to the MKs.

The National Religious Party has declared its intention to vote against the agreement, and will likely be joined by other far Right MKs, including those in the Land of Israel Front. The cabinet approved the agreement by a vote of 8 to 4, with five Likud ministers

abstaining.

According to international law, the Wye Memorandum need not be presented to the Knesset to be valid. However, under Israeli law important diplomatic agreements are traditionally brought before the House for ratification in order to go into force domestically. This view was confirmed in a ruling

earlier this month by Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, and the government has said it will not implement the first redeployment of the accord before Knesset ratification.

Today, Netanyahu will first give his political address to the Knesset, required by House Rules at the beginning of each sitting.

GA

Continued from Page 1

"What better time is there to go to the GA than when it's in Israel," said Riki Rubin, who won a young leadership award from the Toledo Federation and is its new campaign chairwoman. Charles Brofman is serving as international chairman of the event, with Paul Berger and Lois Zoller the North American co-chairmen and Dov Lautman the Israel chairman.

At the center of the gathering will be a signing of a covenant by delegates pledging the two communities' commitment to each other.

"We're going to have an opportunity to attempt to look at new forms of a relationship," said Council of Jewish Federations president Conrad Giles, who also serves as co-chairman of UJA Federations of North America. "Israel is no longer the poor cousin, [but now] is a thriving Jewish community. But it still requires us, in the Jewish communities around the world, to attach ourselves firmly to a country that will always be our spiritual center."

"In my view, there certainly was a time when Israel needed the world Jewish communities more than they needed Israel, in terms of finances," he said. "Today, it's a different paradigm. In my view, in order for the world Jewish communities to keep themselves Jewish, we need Israel - to help educate our youth, to sensi-

tize our youth, and it is an enormously important resource in that regard."

UJA president Richard Wexler said that Wednesday's field trips, in which participants will choose one of 38 routes to learn more about Israeli society, will go a long way to improving the bond between Israeli and Diaspora Jewry.

"Every moment, every aspect of this GA is dedicated to the relationship," he said, "because for the first time many American Jews are going to be interacting with Israelis. This represents an opportunity for them to get a greater understanding of the issues each side faces, and together to go back to our communities in Haifa or Seattle, Washington, with a new appreciation for one another and therefore a strengthening of the bonds that are immutable between us."

Giles said that this year's GA, despite recent reorganizations within North American Jewry, will not be dominated by organizational politics. "This GA will be an institutional shabbaton [sabbatical] that's going to last several days in which we are going to contemplate issues far more complex than how to govern ourselves in our new polity, and look at the far more important global and continuing philosophical phenomenon of how we are going to relate [to each other] as a people," he said.

Heldi J. Gleit contributed to this report.

CPI

Continued from Page 1

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman defended Frenkel, but admitted for the first time there are differences of approach to the recent devaluation of the shekel, with ministry sources saying Neeman believes Frenkel should have directly intervened in currency trading to support the shekel, which ended last week at NIS 4.194. Frenkel has remained resolute in his decision not to directly intervene in trading by selling dollars to bolster the shekel.

"The Treasury has a number of differences of opinion with the Bank of Israel, but it's forbidden [for anyone] to continue these personal attacks on the governor, because this challenges the authority of the central bank," Neeman told the cabinet.

As a result of the numerous complaints by ministers against Frenkel, Neeman agreed to investigate the central bank's recent monetary decisions.

"The finance minister will present the details of the disagreements with the Bank of Israel at a meeting of the cabinet either this week or next, which will be held specifically to discuss this topic," said Neeman's spokesman Motti Sherf.

The 1999 state budget bill, which has already passed its first reading, includes an inflation target of 4%, but ministers are pushing for a less

ambitious target, around 4%-6%.

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky told the meeting his Yisrael Ba'aliya party will possibly vote against the 1999 budget if the macroeconomic forecasts for next year are not discussed, with the inflation target taking center stage. Sharansky further called for the creation of a board of governors to be in charge of monetary policy.

Science Minister Silvan Shalom, one of the originators of the debate, spoke of the increase as "a hysterical step which broadcast panic and is a notice of object failure." He told the meeting it will be impossible to meet both 1999's fiscal and monetary targets at the same time, especially under the present economic circumstances. Shalom reminded ministers that it is up to the government to implement economic policies and not the governor.

A series of other economic statistics were also published yesterday, with the jobseekers data from the Employment Service showing no real change during October. There were some 149,300 jobseekers last month, compared to 149,400 in September.

That data did not prevent Manufacturers Association president Dan Propper from calling on Frenkel to reduce interest rates to reduce unemployment, which is currently above 9%. Propper has also written to the state comptroller seeking an investigation into the central bank's monetary policy.

ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 1

NOTICE - MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET

הודעה חשובה לכל חברי הכנסת

DAVID BOIM, of blessed memory, age 17, is one of hundreds of victims slain on the sacred soil of his beloved homeland, Eretz Yisrael.

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ARAFAT

Continued from Page 1

Meanwhile, in a drive-by shooting last night, Arkady Torchinsky, of Harnesh, was wounded as he was driving to work. Torchinsky, in his 40s, was listed in satisfactory condition in Hadera's Hillel Yofe Hospital, with gunshot wounds in the abdomen, hand, and thigh. The IDF was searching for the attackers. The Associated Press quoted gov-

ernment coordinator of activities in the territories Shlomo Drot as saying the attackers were Palestinians trying to derail the peace process.

The government is expected to release 250 Palestinian prisoners, allow the opening of the airport at Dahaniya, and carry out the first redeployment of 2% from Area C to B and 7.1% from B to A before week's end. In addition, committees dealing with economics, safe passage routes, and the seaport are to begin meeting today.

On Wednesday, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian negotiator Mahmoud Abbas are to meet and open final-status talks, and on Thursday, the Palestinians are to be shown Israel's withdrawal maps.

Naveh stressed that nothing is automatic, and that after the Knesset approval - which is expected tomorrow - the cabinet will hold a special meeting Thursday to evaluate the PA's fulfillment of its commitments. Only if these are found satisfactory will the government

move on with its side of the bargain. The Palestinians were to have presented the security working paper, arrested 10 of the 30 fugitives wanted by Israel, set up a framework for collection of illegal weapons, nullified sections of the Palestinian Covenant calling for Israel's destruction in the Palestinian executive committee, and issued a decree against incitement. Mohammed Najib and Margot Dudkevitch contributed to this report.

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Attendees of this week's GA conference include Riki and Brent Rubin, of Toledo, Ohio, who arrived at the King David Hotel last night (left), and Ellen Goldner from New Jersey, who was greeted by her son Josh.

Surveys disagree on influence of US Jewish groups on youth

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Early exposure in its youth group to religious observance tends to last throughout life, according to a survey released by the Orthodox Union of National Conference of Synagogue Youth alumni.

Another poll, measuring Jewish activism among Jewish youth group graduates in general, said it declines rapidly in college.

According to the NCSY poll, 55% who came from homes with little religious observance, said that religion still shapes their lives even 30 years later. The survey surveyed 1,070 randomly selected alumni from NCSY over three years. It was conducted by the Lilly Endowment and a Protestant-sponsored philanthropic foundation in Indianapolis examining the efficacy of non-profit educational institutions.

A total of 55% of the respondents, who today are 26 or older, attended a public or non-denominational high school, but reported their religious observance today remains very high, the poll said.

Only 2% intermarried, 3% divorced, 89% were affiliated with a synagogue, 73% are more observant today than in high school, 68% spend time each week studying aspects of Judaism, 96% fast on Yom Kippur, 78% have been to Israel, 82% are active in a religious or civic organization, and 67% of males and 42% of females attend synagogue at least once a week.

A second poll suggested that American Jewish college youth avoid Jewish involvement on campus, according to a study released by Lights in Action (LIA), which represents the World Union of Jewish Students in the US.

While 75% attended a Jewish summer camp or in a youth group, 73% rated little involvement in campus Jewish activities.

The poll was conducted in April by Market Strategies, a firm based in Washington, DC. It had a margin of error of 4%-8%.

Israelis apathetic toward GA

The opening of the General Assembly (GA) in Jerusalem today is the North American Jewish leadership's way of saying that Israel is important in their lives. Don't wait for a reciprocal gesture by Israelis signaling to American Jewry that they value their contribution or appreciate their achievements.

Indeed, judging by the interest the GA has generated in the media, Israelis don't care much about what is happening inside the organized North American Jewish community.

"American Jews value their relationship with Israel, a lot more than Israelis value their relationship with American Jews," said Steven Cohen, a sociologist at Hebrew University's Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, who has studied American Jewry extensively.

Israelis, Cohen said, used to have stronger connections with Diaspora Jewry. Those were during the days when so many Israelis and Israeli leaders were born overseas, and had family there. But as more Israelis are born here, and as the society becomes "more individualistic and less collectivist in orientation, both toward Israel and to the Jewish people," that tie has worn increasingly thin.

Ironically, the sheer number of Israelis abroad is one source of strengthening the tie: "The emergence of Israelis overseas opens up a potential for links between Israel and the Jewish community abroad, and they should be seen that way," Cohen said.

"Contrary to conventional Zionist thinking on the matter, this is a positive development."

Israelis, for the most part, seem to care little about the GA being held in Jerusalem. Many of the media stories dealing with the event have a tourism angle - that American Jewish leaders are continuing to arrive despite the US-Israeli conflict, and in contrast to the situation during the 1991 Gulf War.

"The Israeli public should show interest in this meeting, but they are not," said Cohen. "They should show interest because Israeli Jews ought to care about Jewish life abroad, and the vast majority of Israeli Jews don't. Their relationship to Jews abroad is as a Diaspora whose only function is to support Israel, either through political support, philanthropy or aliyah."

Israelis fail to appreciate the value of Jewish life and Judaism that is being created very vibrantly

IN CONTEXT

By HERB KEIRON

in the Diaspora community. The GA is a reflection of that vibrancy. The North American Jewish voluntary system is a tremendous achievement in Jewish history, one that has not been given sufficient credit by Israelis.

Rather than give the leaders of that system credit, the tendency of many Israelis is to look at them cynically as the rich relatives more interested in their personal comfort and honor than in living an "authentic" Jewish life here.

But this cynicism is misplaced, said Daniel Elazar, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and an authority on American Jewish communal life.

"The type of people attending the GA," Elazar said, "are people who have plenty of money, and have full access to any activity in the world: opera, golf, mountain climbing in Antarctica. Yet they choose to pay their own money to come to Israel, or to go to the GA wherever it is in the US, to participate in the Jewish community's business, and try to help the community to grow and strive and develop. You can be cynical about that, but you better be doing an awful lot yourself to be

entitled to that cynicism."

This Israeli cynicism, Elazar says, flows from the lack of a comparable species on the Israeli public stage.

"Israelis," said Elazar, "have little experience with voluntary public life. They volunteer for all sorts of private activities, social welfare, good works, etc. But public life has always been in the hands of professional politicians. In general, professional politicians, even worthy ones, don't breed much feeling other than cynicism. It is hard for Israelis to conceive that there are these prosperous people who find that this kind of work makes their life more meaningful."

Israelis, Elazar contended, do care about American Jews on a grand scale, without getting into all the domestic workings and details, just as "Jews are concerned for other Jews all around the world."

The asymmetry, by which many American Jews are versed and interested in Israeli internal workings, while Israelis are for the most part indifferent to domestic American Jewish developments, is simply the result of Israel "after all, being the Jewish state. American Jewry is just a big Jewish community," Elazar said, "a great Jewish community and the largest, but still just a big Jewish community."

Poll shows strong support for Israel among Americans

By Jerusalem Post Staff

Americans believe Israel is doing more to bring peace to the region than the Palestinians by a 3-1 ratio, according to a recent public opinion poll commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League.

A majority of the 1,331 American adults polled also strongly support

Israel as a strategic partner of the US, and as a proponent of peace in the Middle East, an ADL spokesman reported.

Americans also prefer to maintain the status quo in Jerusalem - a united city under Israeli rule - with 58 percent support, compared to only 18% who want Jerusalem also made the capital of a Palestinian state.

The poll, conducted by the Boston firm of Kiley and Co. just before the Wye agreement was signed, found 64% of Americans believe Israel can be counted on as a loyal US ally, while 24% do not. "These results are encouraging," said Rabbi David Rosen, director of ADL's Israel Office, "since these questions were posed when there

was a stalemate in the Middle East peace negotiations for 18 months and efforts had been made by some to blame Israel. With the breakthrough at Wye and the understanding that Israel made difficult concessions to ensure its security, we would expect even greater support for Israel if the poll were conducted today."

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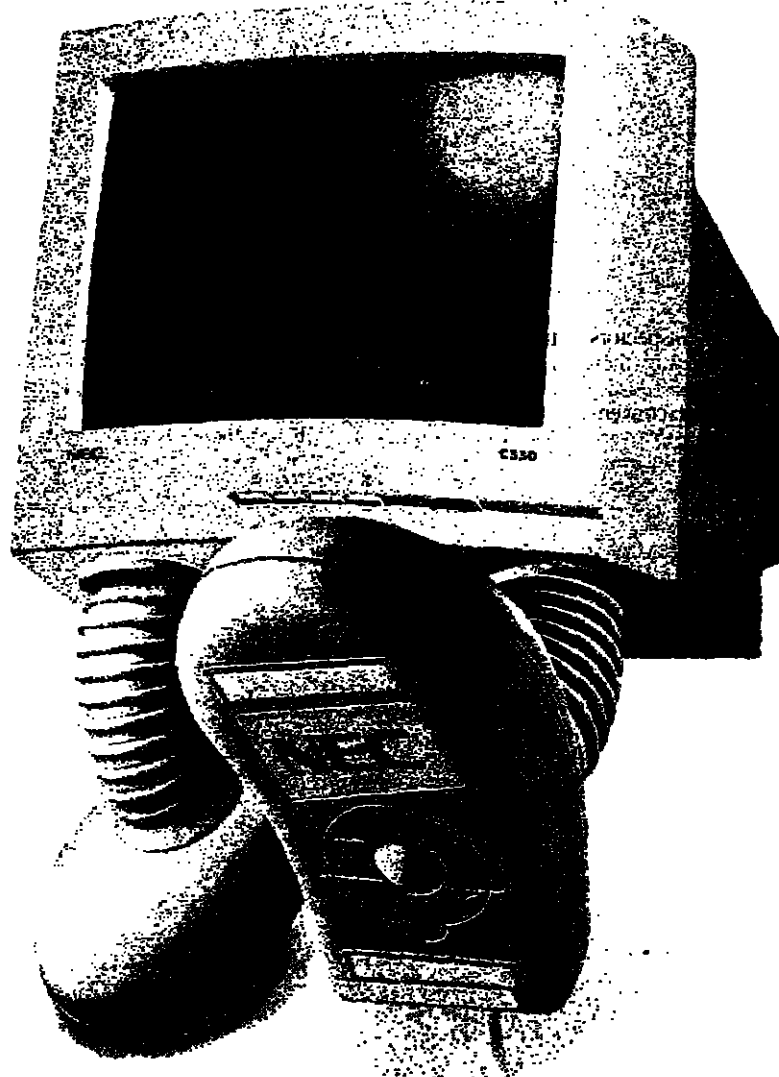
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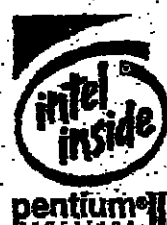
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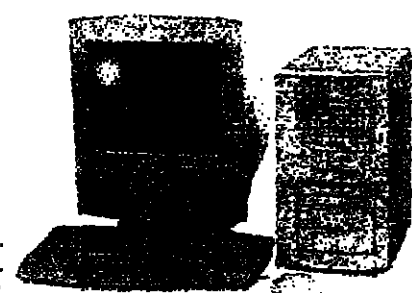
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WORLD

in brief

US throws weight behind Malaysia's Anwar

KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters) — US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright yesterday met Anwar Ibrahim's wife in a show of solidarity with the detained former finance minister and a diplomatic snub to Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. Wan Azizah Wan Ismail and her eldest daughter, Nurul Izzah, met Albright during a meeting of Pacific Rim leaders.

On Saturday, two Canadian ministers attending the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation annual gathering met Wan Azizah in a rebuttal to Mahathir, who sacked Anwar on September 2, calling him morally unfit.

"The United States has made it clear that Anwar Ibrahim is a highly respected leader," Albright told a news conference.

Turkish, Greek Cypriots mark 15th anniversary

NICOSIA (AP) — Rival sides of the war-divided island of Cyprus commemorated the 15th anniversary of the breakaway Turkish Cypriot republic yesterday, with solemn protests among Greek Cypriots and flag-waving celebrations among Turkish Cypriots.

Greek Cypriot President Glafcos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş marked the anniversary with competing appeals to the international community — Clerides asking for help reunifying the island, Denktaş demanding long-denied recognition of his republic.

Serbs invite Kosovo Albanians to talks

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia (AP) — Serb authorities have invited Kosovo Albanians to hold face-to-face talks in an effort to reach a political settlement, state media reported yesterday. There was no immediate response by ethnic Albanian leaders to the offer by Serbian President Milan Milutinovic.

The Albanians have rejected several such invitations in the past, but the latest comes amid a flurry of US-led diplomacy. "All conditions are in place for a direct meeting and for a discussion to find a political solution for Kosovo problems," said the statement issued by the Serbian president's office.

Indonesian president backs military chief

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) — His palace under heavy guard following riots and protests, President B.J. Habibie yesterday stood by his military chief despite outrage over the shooting deaths of at least five protesting students.

Police, meanwhile, took two opposition figures for questioning after Habibie ordered the military to get tough on those he has accused of trying to overthrow his six-month-old government. The activists are politician Sri Bintang Pamaungkas and retired Lt-Gen. Kemal Idris, who has campaigned to replace Habibie with a government led by community leaders.

Stopped for speeding, man charged in murder

ALFRED, Maine (AP) — A man stopped for speeding was charged with murder, because the woman sitting next to him in the car was dead.

When Charles Whitehouse, 29, of Livermore Falls, was stopped on a state highway near Alfred on Saturday, Deputy Ronald Lund saw a woman in the passenger seat who initially appeared to be unconscious, authorities said.

But the woman, Regina Throgdon, 42, of Rochester, New Hampshire, had been strangled, the state medical examiner's office said. Investigators believe the two had been driving from Rochester and the victim was strangled en route.

Cypriot court told:
Israelis had
contact with
TA agency

News agencies

LARNACA — Israeli Udi Hargov and Igal Damary, held 10 days on suspicion of spying in Cyprus, had repeated contact "with a specific intelligence service...based in Tel Aviv" before they were arrested, investigating officer Andreas Naoum told the district court here yesterday.

He said the suspects made calls from two portable phones which they were later found carrying, and classified military activity was underway close by their rented apartment.

The court ordered that the two men be remanded in custody for a further five days to complete investigating "a very serious case of spying."

Naoum said they were arrested only hours after setting foot on the island, November 6. A search of their apartment found illegal radio scanners and maps of Cyprus "with several localities marked in ink" — all military installations.

An officer said one of the scanners, operating at the time of the search, was tuned in to police radio frequencies, which could have interfered with army, air force and civil aviation radio traffic, the officer said.

The two Israelis listened through an interpreter translating to Hebrew from Greek. Police sources however said at least one has a perfect knowledge of Greek.

Israel has denied Damary, 47, and Hargov, 27, were working against Cyprus or on behalf of

Turkey, which invaded northern Cyprus in 1974 after a brief Greek-inspired coup in Nicosia. However, both Israel and Turkey, which occupies the northern third of the island, are interested in gaining information on the planned deployment by Cyprus of Russian S-300 anti-aircraft missiles.

Turkey has warned it would prevent the deployment. Israel is reportedly interested because the missiles' radar can monitor aircraft movements throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

Spying carries a maximum sentence of 10 years in prison under Cyprus law.

The arrest has caused a strain in Cyprus-Israel relations, newly repaired by this month's visit to the island by President Ezer Weizman.

"Our clients have stated that they have absolutely nothing to do with espionage or that their activities were directed against the Cyprus Republic," said Antis Triantafyllides, a well-known criminal lawyer who represented the duo in court. Naoum added that the two men had refused to answer any questions or otherwise cooperate with the investigation.

There was heavy security around the courthouse. Armed anti-terrorist police searched the chambers an hour before the two appeared.

Witnesses said Damary laughed disparagingly when he was told one newspaper described him as the most senior member of Mossad ever caught.

Air force Skyhawk crashes; pilot ejects safely

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

An air force A-4 Skyhawk crashed during training in the Negev yesterday, the second of the vintage fighter-trainers to crash in three months.

According to an initial IAF

investigation, the pilot reported that his engine had lost power and he tried to restart it in the air, but to no avail. He ejected safely. The pilot was not injured, but was hospitalized for observation, the army said.

OC Air Force Maj-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliahu has ordered an investigation. The A-4 was the fifth aircraft the IAF has acknowledged to have lost so far this year, and at least four airmen have been killed. IAF planes have also dropped training

bombs on a main highway and cut the power cables to Eilat.

Israel uses Skyhawks in advance training for pilots and navigators. On July 27, a Skyhawk crashed near the West Bank village of Tarkumiya and a flight instructor and pilot safely bailed out.

An inquiry ruled that the engine had failed due to "material fatigue."

Col. (res.) Shmuel Gordon, a former A-4 squadron commander, said that despite the failure of the

two jets he does not see the IAF getting rid of the squadron in the near future.

"You certainly have to consider its future," Gordon said. "It's like a car, the older it gets the higher the costs of keeping it running. Not only that but it also puts pilots at risk."

Gordon said the crash of the Skyhawk was a "yellow light" for the IAF.

The air force does not publicize all of its mishaps.

The IAF traditionally notifies the US and the manufacturer of the plane of any mishaps. But air force sources said that this did not necessarily include those in which there are no injuries.

As in all crashes, an inquiry was set up to investigate what happened.

Woman dies after
being pricked by fish

The Health Ministry's Food Service Division favors an initiative barring fish from being sold without first being blessed. The division head Dr. Brian Coussin yesterday said he was commenting on the tragic death of a 51-year-old mother of four at Sheba Hospital over the weekend from a deadly bacteria that entered her bloodstream when she was pricked by a fish at a Tel Aviv market three weeks ago.

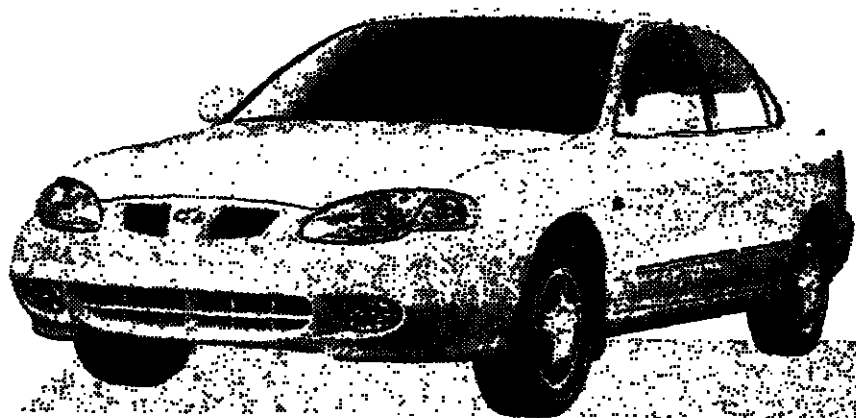
Heat kills the bacteria, so there is no reason to fear eating fish if they're well cooked, Coussin added. The large majority of people who are accidentally pricked by a fish with vibrio will suffer no harmful consequences. "The only people in danger are people with weakened immune systems due to chronic illnesses, especially the very old and very young," he said. Judy Siegel

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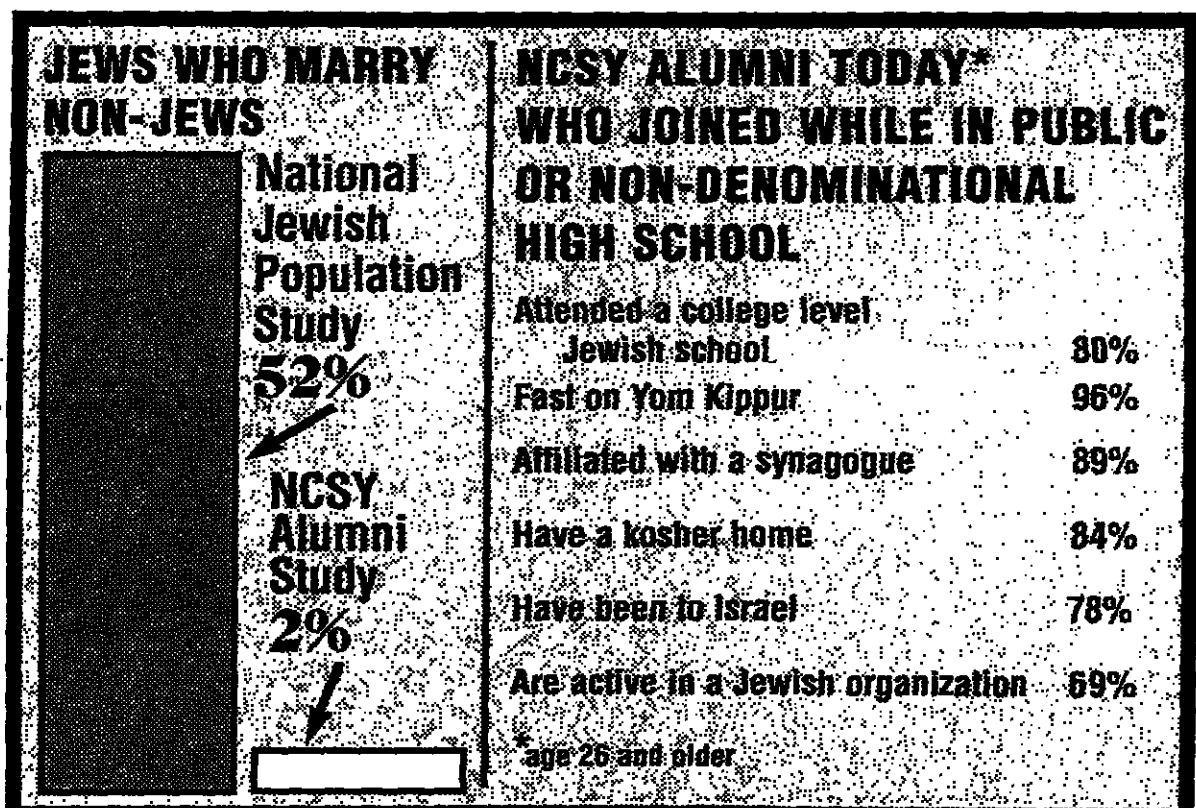
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The principal investigator for the study was Dr. Nathalie Friedman, a sociologist at Barnard College. The project was managed by the consulting firm of Dr. Perry Davis in Manhattan.

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Beilin's baby: A right of passage

Fund-raising begins this week for the MK's Birthright program, which says that a Jew born anywhere in the world has a free plane ticket to Israel attached to his navel. Aryeh Dean Cohen reports

Hanukkah may still be a month away, but this week should mark the first steps that will lead to young Jews around the world being offered a gift they can't afford to refuse: Jewish continuity.

The hope is that the gift, in the form of a free plane ticket to Israel and 10 days' participation in an Israel program of their choice, will soon have these young Jews relating to Israel as part of their natural birthright as members of the Jewish people.

Indeed, the Birthright program, conceived by MK Yossi Beilin, is aimed at making visiting Israel as much a rite of passage for young Jews aged 15-26 as a bar or bat mitzva, at the same time building new bridges between Israel and the Diaspora and combating assimilation.

The official campaign to raise funds for the program is being launched tomorrow, as part of the North American Jewish Federation General Assembly (GA).

But Jewish activists around the world, excited by the program's revolutionary nature, have already committed millions to it, despite awareness of its risks.

BEILIN first realized the need for such a program while traveling through the US about five years ago.

"I was aware of polls indicating this trend of the vanishing American Jew, vanishing Diaspora Jew... I asked myself whether we have to accept this, or whether we could change something," the Labor MK recalled recently.

The problem, Beilin says, was first a matter of image.

He pulls out a newspaper clipping from his desk depicting a Jewish federation leader dressed as a Beduin, being led along on a camel by a staffer at a 50th anniversary event in Atlanta.

"For me, that is a heart attack, the end of the world," Beilin says, angrily.

"If Israel is this camel with the Beduin - with all due respect to camels and Beduin - it's not Israel. It's a kind of Lawrence of Arabia, not Israel. I don't want my Israel to be seen by American Jews like that."

Israel's allowing American Jews to portray Israel as a backward kind of place in need of support "still maintained sympathy for Israel, but we lost the feeling of partnership. You cannot feel real partnership with something on a much lower level than yourself."

Besides the gloomy assimilation data, Beilin found something positive: studies indicating that "visiting here may be the one important variable that changes people's minds about Israel."

Beilin remembers wondering what Israel could do, "even in a small way, to create an impact which will have ramifications later in the life of every Jew in the

world. And I said to myself... these visits [by young Diaspora Jews] can change a lot."

"They will not turn all of them into immigrants to Israel... but... empathy... links to Israel - that can be produced."

Thus was born the Birthright program, which aims to bring young Jews who have never visited Israel here as the guests of the Jewish people. It has become Beilin's passion, the thing he talks about wherever he goes.

The program has become the focal point of his philosophy of the Diaspora-Israel relationship, and he urges fund-raisers to "take all the money and give it to the world's young Jews to go to Israel."

AS Beilin initially devised it, his plan for what he still refers to as "the Jewish jamboree" had an almost carnival-like, giveaway appeal.

Using existing federation and other records to identify them, 17-year-old Jews who'd never been here were to receive a voucher in the mail, akin to those from Publisher's Clearinghouse, informing them of their free trip. In this case, however, they would have already won a prize.

Seventeen-year-olds were chosen because Beilin thought it an impressionable age, one which would allow for planned interaction with Israeli teens before the latter entered the army.

Stressing the "free gift" aspect was aimed at creating an atmosphere, especially among non-affiliated Jews, similar to that of shoppers redeeming coupons at the supermarket, Beilin explained.

"Like when they say you can get a free toothbrush if you buy a helicopter - people get on line; they want their toothbrush. And, I believe, if the voucher is for

Some thought making the entire trip free cheapened its ultimate educational value and still wouldn't get the kids to come. Others balked at giving up funds for other UIA goals to the project.

"A lot of people bought the first part of the vision, but they definitely didn't buy the practical, second part of it," says Abraham Infeld, international director of Birthright.

Then Beilin found an invaluable ally. He pitched his plan to financier and philanthropist Michael Steinhardt, whose enthusiasm infected entrepreneur and fellow philanthropist Charles Bronfman.

According to Infeld, Steinhardt told Bronfman: "If we take what you've already done and this new dream and we mesh them together, we can be partners in providing the wonderful gift from the Jews of the 20th century to the Jewish community of the 21st century."

"For me, it was a matter of recognizing that we're not going to have every Jewish kid go to day school, or even 10% go to day school," Bronfman said of the project, according to Infeld.

"It's a Jewish financial project. How do you do something that is financially possible, emotionally reachable and starts people saying to themselves: 'Who am I? I take an interest in who I am.' That's their first trip, and then maybe they'll come back again," Bronfman said.

The two men committed themselves to raising \$100 million for the first five years of the program, and are busy winning over others to the project, according to Infeld: the State of Israel and the federations are kicking in the rest of the budget.

Finally Beilin's



\$3,000-\$3,500, it will be difficult for people to throw it away because they got it for free."

Beilin envisioned unaffiliated Jews hearing about the "give-away" from friends and demanding to be included, increasing the pool of participants.

Understandably, in the somewhat staid world of Jewish organizational life, starting a revolution took some time, but Beilin pressed on, talking up his idea with whichever Jewish leader he met.

vision, albeit somewhat altered, has moved from drawing board to runway; it's set to take off this week. Just how high it will fly is still uncertain, but the enthusiasm is there.

SOME of the kinks remain and there is a great deal of administrative work left to be done, but Birthright will work roughly as follows:

Jews aged 15-26 who've never participated in a peer-experience Israel program (having visited with family won't count) will be



Beilin: "Visiting here may be the one important variable that changes people's minds about Israel"; (Below) Young British Jews show they have some pull during a summer program here.

reached either by mail or through advertisements in the local media, and told about the Birthright offer.

Anyone recognized as a Jew by any denomination of Judaism would qualify for the offer, Infeld says.

Their gift, according to the Birthright literature, will cover "the cost of travel to and from Israel and the equivalent of at least 10 days of significant programming, or it will serve as a credit toward the cost of a longer trip."

"Structured family groups" and "school-based Israel Experience trips for youngsters below the age of 15" could also qualify, as could, presumably, many existing post-high-school programs, though specific criteria for eligible programs have yet to be established.

Besides the money, participants would also benefit from new programs expected to be developed to attract the youths.

While some administrators of current programs have expressed concern about competition, Infeld insists they will only benefit from Birthright. Every program will include meetings between Diaspora youth and their

Israeli peers. The first beneficiaries of Birthright subsidies are expected to arrive here in 2000.

To guarantee the continuance of the Birthright revolution, \$180 - 10 times *hai* - will be deposited in the bank account of every Jewish baby born in the Diaspora, starting in 2000, as a down payment toward their Birthright trip, a move also intended to help keep better track of the world Jewish community. (Jewish babies might be "found" via ritual circumcisers, obstetricians, and advertising to which parents would respond.)

THAT settled, the main question regarding the Birthright plan is simple: If you fund it, will they come?

After all, free tickets aren't always enough, says Los Angeles Jewish Federation Israel Experience Programs Director Jody Moss, whose office sends 1,000 young people to Israel annually, making a significant contribution to the 12,000 Jewish youths who come to Israel for the first time each year.

"It's not just a question of you giving it to them for free and they're going to flock," she insists. "It's one more barrier that we are lowering to make it more attractive. But we do a tremendous amount of pre-programming to try to make this the next rite of passage."

"It's a full process - it didn't happen overnight. We all went into it thinking that if we marketed it correctly and lowered the price, everyone would go [to Israel]. That's not absolutely happening."

Moss believes that for the program to succeed, more needs to be done to target young Jews' parents as well.

"I think a tremendous amount of it is that the parents have never been, so they don't put Israel on their radar screen. I think we've grown up with parents of kids who we're targeting who have never known a world without Israel. So it's just one more place, and eventually they'll get there - but it's not really important [to them]."

"We're trying to change that, but it's not always the easiest sell. But I think anything we can do to make it more attractive is good."

Infeld agrees with Moss and promises that both pre- and post-trip programs will be part of the Birthright project.

"We want to make sure that when a kid says he wants to go, somebody will help him prepare for it, and there will be a follow-up experience to strengthen his sense of Jewish identity. I'm excited about those challenges," he says.

Can even totally unaffiliated young Jews be reached? LA Federation Executive Vice

President John R. Fishel says no matter what, "the initiative has to be taken. We believe that to make the leap from very affiliated families to moderately affiliated is possible: to totally unaffiliated families is more difficult, but that doesn't mean the effort shouldn't be made."

Fishel is encouraged that Birthright "could be a more collaborative effort that would benefit all of us."

STILL, this revolution has its risks, and many potential partner communities and officials are anxious to see the x's and o's on the fund-raising blackboard before the program overextends itself.

"Money might be sitting on the shelves, and there won't be any takers," says Dr. Elan Ezrachi, director of the Charles Bronfman Migashim Centre in Jerusalem which arranges meetings between Israelis and visiting Diaspora Jews, and will coordinate encounters between Israelis and Birthright participants.

"It's a win-all situation only if it works," Ezrachi, who supports the project, says. "It's also a high-risk initiative because we're not talking about creating a small scholarship here or new program there. We're talking about a comprehensive shift in the way the Diaspora relates to travel to Israel, literally making it into a... normative Jewish practice."

"Obviously, if something like this fails, conceptually, ideologically and organizationally we're going to pay a very high price for it. The stakes are high."

Even self-described staunch Birthright supporter Jewish Agency Treasurer Sallai Meridor warns that marketing will be everything.

"We all know that if you have a great product but don't introduce it right into the so-called market, you may be less successful than you could be, or, in this case, should be," he says.

Nonetheless, he adds, "We have an opportunity to change Jewish culture, to save future generations of Jews for the Jewish people, for Israel as the center of the Jewish

people. We cannot allow ourselves to miss this opportunity just because there are legitimate concerns."

Youngsters already here on programs for foreigners believe Beilin's baby is definitely worth the risks.

Amy Glaser, 17, of Huntington, West Virginia, who is attending Young Judea's Year Course program, believes money's a big reason why more of her friends haven't come to Israel.

"If you can get them here once, it opens their eyes to something, it sparks an interest in a lot of cases," she says.

Birthright, she says, "may be the form that Zionism needs to take on now - to emphasize that connection between the Diaspora and Israel."

CAN it work?

Neither Beilin nor Infeld see Birthright as a panacea, able to wipe out assimilation and cure all that ails the Israel-Diaspora relationship.

Rather they view it as a prescription to cure some of those ills, one that will go down sweetly and benefit both sides.

"If you ask me: Can I prevent assimilation in the Jewish world today? As optimistic and ambitious as I am, I believe it will be very difficult - but perhaps we can raise the threshold of those who stay Jewish and visit Israel," says Beilin.

"But this will at least keep people thinking about their roots. Many of them today don't know what they are losing by cutting their contact with the Jewish people."

Infeld sums it up by saying: "A cultural statement that a Jew born anywhere in the world is born with an airline ticket to Israel attached to his navel says something about the relationship between the Jewish people and the State of Israel."

Those interested in participating in or assisting the Birthright program can contact its Israel office at 36 Rehov Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem 92149, or call (02) 566-0393. The office in New York City is located at 111 Eighth Avenue, Suite 11E, New York, NY 10011-5201, telephone 212-284-6915.

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סדרה של האמל

Mark Kopytman goes 'Beyond...'

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

The genesis of composer Mark Kopytman's newest opus, *Beyond...*, goes back more than 25 years. The work, commissioned by the Israel Camerata Jerusalem for a recent North American tour celebrating Israel's 50th anniversary, uses as its motto a line from a book by poet Yehuda



Mark Kopytman

Amichai.

"When I wrote *October Sun* in 1974, a work which was very clearly connected to the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, I used poetry by Amichai. There was this book of his with the line 'Beyond all of this lies the greatest happiness...' " Kopytman recalls. "This line is pregnant with meanings and it clearly relates to the three things which matter very much and concern me in my life and work: life, death and love. It is a sort of a psychological triangle."

Kopytman is still very closely associated with Amichai's poetry. "Ten years ago, when I was invited by the Israel Chamber Orchestra to write a choral work for Israel's 40th anniversary, I returned to Amichai and the line 'beyond all this...' When I completed that work, I called Amichai and asked him to explain the ellipsis. I asked if it meant that there is hope and happiness or that there is no hope, or that maybe there will be hope. He said

that actually, he did not know. I did not provide an answer in my work either."

It took Kopytman about a decade to find an answer to the question he had raised 10 years earlier. "When Avner Biran asked me to write a wordless symphonic opus for the Camerata, I thought that indeed my motto should be identical. But this time I kept just the first word with the three dots. Semantically I was not sure if I should call the work 'behind' or 'beyond,' but the question mark is still there. I do not like to conclude any sentence with a full stop. I believe that any musical form should be wide open enough so that numerous people will be able to relate to it individually."

Speaking about *Beyond...*, the composer explains "that the work is filled with lyric and sad elements. It has two parts - the first is a series of episodes, and the second, much shorter, part seems to suggest hope. It is a sort of a work that moves from the lyric and dramatic upwards, towards the light, the sun, the sky. And, as is usual with my music, the overall musical atmosphere here is very much influenced by folklore. Actually, many people have said that this is my most Jewish work."

Kopytman says that this new work is a combination of memories, hope, sadness and the circle of life. He recalls that "the way the American public reacted to it was quite amazing to me. Many people found many things in the music which I had no intention of portraying. For example, there was this woman who said that she saw children walking to heaven but without their heads. It was quite horrifying."

The Israel Camerata Jerusalem will present the Israeli premiere of Mark Kopytman's *Beyond...* on Thursday at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem, Friday and Saturday at the Tel Aviv Museum and November 23 in Rehovot. All concerts are at 8:30 p.m. except on Friday, when the performance will be held at 2 p.m.



Loving her more

Mezzo-soprano Linda Kanpol, winner of the third AACI English Song Competition Thursday night in Beersheba with 'Loving You More,' made aliya from Melbourne in 1975. Now a resident of Tel Aviv and a professional singer and actress, she wrote the music and lyrics to her winning entry, on which she was accompanied by flute and piano.

According to Roby Shmerling, who organized the event, "It was a huge success this year. The introduction of two extra finalists - 12 as opposed to last year's ten - reflected not only the greater number of entrants, but also the improved quality of the compositions. We had our first-ever finalists from Haifa, Kfar Sava and Netanya. Now every corner of the country has been represented in the finals. For next year, we've been promised even greater assistance from our patron-sponsor, the Beersheba Municipality."

(Text: Jerusalem Post Staff; Photos: Tzafir Abayov)

A 'Dream' that didn't come true

By TOM TUGEND

A Dream No More, an ambitious documentary on Israel's first 50 years and intended originally as a highlight of the nation's jubilee, is, indeed, a dream no more.

Nearly completed, the film has been permanently shelved by its producer, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, to the deep dismay of the documentary's creators.

The demise of *Dream*, after more than a year's work and considerable expense, has triggered a controversy in which the film's director-writer Mark Jonathan Harris and his cowriter Stuart Schoffman swap blame with Rabbi Marvin Hier, founder and head of both the Wiesenthal Center and its Moriah Films division.

The Wiesenthal Center won an Oscar in 1981 with its very first documentary, *Genocide*, and repeated the feat this year with its latest production, *The Long Way Home*.

To Harris and Schoffman, the demise of *Dream* reflects, at bottom, the unwillingness of American Jews to face the realities of Israeli life and history as a mixture of lights and shadows. To Hier, it's a simpler matter of creative and conceptual differences between a producer and his director, and he has started work on a new version of the film.

Schoffman, an American-born Israeli, went public with the controversy this month in his regular column for *The Jerusalem Report*.

Schoffman writes that he and Harris decided to encapsulate the story of Israel's statehood through a "mosaic" of different voices, "precisely because there are so many vigorously competing versions of the development, present-day priorities and future prospects of the Jewish state."

After initial script approval, various revisions, and extensive filming in Israel, Moriah "shut down the production in June 1998, on the grounds that the film wasn't working," writes Schoffman.

At that point, the dates for a series of "world premieres" of the film, in such prestigious venues as Washington's Kennedy Center and New York's Radio City Music Hall, had already passed.

In the end, Schoffman writes, and confirms in an interview, "*A Dream No More* was unacceptable as the official, feel-good Diaspora jubilee film."

"What this case confirms, I think, is that on the occasion of Israel's 50th birthday - and as the party continues with the General Assembly of UJA Federations of North America convening in Jerusalem for the first time - the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora is in serious need of reexamination."

"It would seem that a great many American Jews find Israel too complex, disturbing and problematic to confront head-on, leaving them with a set of flawed alternatives: They can tune Israel out; or else cling to a pristine picture of Israel that no Israeli, whatever his or her political coloration, can take seriously."

HARRIS largely agrees with his cowriter and brings considerable authority to the discussion as a veteran filmmaker and teacher.

A professor at the University of Southern California's School of Cinema-Television, he has won an Academy Award in his own right and was also the director-writer for

The Long Way Home.

"We worked very hard on this film for 14 to 15 months, and I am very disheartened that it will not be shown," says Harris. "We tried to give a positive, but also accurate, portrayal of Israel, and I think we gave a very balanced picture, of which I am very proud."

Harris says he tried to present a cross-section of Israeli opinions in the film, including the voices of artists, settlers, kibbutzniks, businessmen. Orthodox leaders, philosophers and ordinary people of various ethnic backgrounds.

"These are very articulate, passionate and attractive people, who express the dynamism of Israel and grapple honestly with the country's problems," he says.

He believes that the Wiesenthal Center was concerned that the film, in its planned format, might offend the center's influential supporters.

To Rabbi Hier, the analytical arguments cited by Harris and Schoffman are almost irrelevant to his personal decision.

He acknowledges that when the filmmakers first presented their basic concept, he was willing to give it a try.

"But when I saw the first cut [screened in March], I was 100 percent convinced it wouldn't work," Hier says. "The film was full of talking heads, of people who had played no major roles in the actual historical events, debating in cafes."

"We wanted a film that would excite young people, who knew little about Israel's past," he adds. "In our previous documentaries, we had real historical depth, and we did that by showing great documentary footage of the leading figures who actually shaped the events."

Hier says that he and the filmmakers tried different "band-aid" solutions to salvage the film, but when those didn't work, he exercised the producer's prerogative to shut down production.

Hier vigorously denies that fears of offending supporters or officials in Jerusalem, where the Wiesenthal Center hopes to erect a Museum of Tolerance, played a part in scuttling the project.

He says that before making the final decision, he consulted with his colleagues, Hollywood-savvy trustees, and "intellectuals and journalists" in Israel.

"They all agreed that the film, in its present format, was a non-starter," he says.

ALTHOUGH Hier has no plans to release *Dream* in video or any other format, he will recoup some of the costs in a new documentary now in the works, that will cover the same period.

The new project, under a new title, will incorporate some \$300,000 to \$400,000 worth of historical footage acquired for the Harris film.

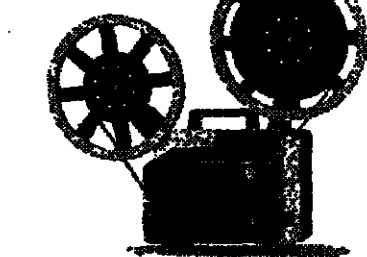
Oxford historian and author Martin Gilbert is collaborating on the new script with Hier, and the film is to be completed in four to five months.

Hier is adamant that the new documentary will not prettify Israel's history or current problems.

"We won't produce a feel-good Jewish National Fund film," he says. "That wouldn't have any credibility."

The difference from the previous approach will be that tensions will be explored and criticisms voiced on the Israeli and Palestinian sides "by the chief historical figures in the events, and not by people sitting in a cafe," says Hier.

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

Of the recent attempts to bring Henry James to the screen, Polish-born director Agnieszka Holland's *Washington Square* is the most sensitive and quietly alert to the writer's own

WASHINGTON SQUARE

★★★★

Directed by Agnieszka Holland. Screenplay by Carol Doyle. Based on the novel by Henry James. Hebrew title: *Be'almu mi'Kfar Washington*. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Jennifer Jason Leigh, Albert Finney, Ben Chaplin and Maggie Smith.

rhythms and tone. While Jane Campion's *Portrait of a Lady* was more audacious, a deliberate feminist rereading of that work, and Ian Softley's *The Wings of the Dove* was both sexier and dumber, Holland sets her sights with modesty and intelligence at respectfully dramatizing James's 1880 novel.

The results may not be earth-shattering, but the film has an admirable seriousness and dignity about it: it's a James adaptation for those who like to read Henry James. (That may sound like a redundancy, but as anyone who has both digested the books in question and seen the Campion or Softley films knows, screen versions of the great novelist's work often fly straight in the face of - and indeed, presume to improve on - what he

actually wrote.) At the same time, Holland's *Washington Square* isn't stuffy so much as thoughtful and contained.

Screenwriter Carol Doyle and the director also begin, in all fairness, with a simpler task than the one that faced those other directors. *Washington Square* is a clearer, slighter, more compact book than either *Portrait* or *Wings*. (It was also adapted successfully for the movies once before, as William Wyler's *The Heiress*.) Written fairly early in James's career, the book centers on a well-off widower doctor and his only child, homely, awkward Catherine Sloper. James: "A dull, plain girl she was called by rigorous critics - a quiet, lady-like girl, by those of the more imaginative sort, but by neither class was she very elaborately discussed."

Her mother died in childbirth, leaving the doctor to brood over his wife's loss, and Catherine a considerable fortune. The girl, for her part, wants nothing more than to please her father, though as it turns out this is a tall order. The doctor is chronically, privately, dissatisfied with his daughter ("he smoked a good many cigars over his disappointment, and in the fullness of time he got used to it"), and he begins, anyway, with very low expectations. He is kind to her in a distant way, and leaves the particulars of her upbringing to his widowed sister, the goose-like Mrs. Penniman.

The crisis in the book begins to evolve when Catherine meets and falls head over heels in love with a handsome young man, Morris Townsend, who may or may not be a fortune hunter. Her father suspects the worst and makes it clear to his daughter that he feels she's being had. He cannot forbid her to marry this good-looking idler, but he can cut off part of her inheritance if she dares to. Catherine herself must choose. The book is in essence an attempt to chart the growth of her desire and will, apart from the wishes of others (the men

especially, though Mrs. Penniman also exerts a certain meddlesome force), and much of its pathos comes from the sense that the doctor may be quite right in doubting Townsend's intentions at the same time that he is quite cruel - wrong in a deeper sense. And while Catherine grows up in the course of the book, the knowledge she gains is not especially uplifting: she suffers as she comes into her own.

Holland's movie is both lovely to look at and remarkably true to most of this moral and psychological nuance, the latter in large part because Jennifer Jason Leigh brings such slow-boiling power to the difficult role of Catherine. In the early scenes, she does a fine job at playing the character's thickness, giggling moronically and covering her mouth with her hand as she bleats out a single inarticulate word. There's an almost slapstick nature to her clumsiness at this point: she walks into doors and keeps dropping her fan. But what's harder - and handled beautifully here - is her development into a person of substance. Leigh's young Catherine isn't really an idiot, as her father (Albert Finney) may think, so much as an unformed and extremely vulnerable blob. Her character has yet to be determined, and in the course of the film we watch her spine straighten, her resolve bloom. The progression is both believable and moving.

Shaking her preposterous bottle curls and simpering in a grotesquely girlish way, Maggie Smith is terrific as Mrs. Penniman, and Holland works well at using her as the pivot around which all things fussy revolve. Her fluttering manner and the constant rustle of her huge, bell-shaped skirts serve as comic counterpoint to the film's more somber themes. Along with her cinematographer and designers, Holland also makes thoughtful, dynamic use of spaces both public (the square, on which Catherine and her father live) and private (the house, with its perfectly telling fur-



Slow-boiling power: Jennifer Jason Leigh as Catherine

nishings and long, dramatic stair).

The only real weakness about Holland's movie comes from her treatment of the male characters. In the book, Dr. Sloper has a grimly ironic quality that may not make him very likeable, but which also grants him a certain wise authority. As the part is written in Doyle's script and portrayed by Finney, he seems a more straightforward bully, a selfish man who can't stand to see his daughter thrive. Townsend (Ben Chaplin), on the other hand, may strike us as a little too nice, too genuine: when he makes love to Catherine, it's as if he truly means it. Who could blame

her for being drawn in?

For a while, this flattening and softening of the book's masculine menace threatens to reduce James's complex tragedy to a pretty little trifle about lost love. Holland's movie version of *The Secret Garden* turned that dark children's classic into something sweet and toothless, and as these other crucial characters array themselves around Catherine, we may worry that James's book will suffer a similar fate. In the end, though, the director and film come to a beat here and there, but still manages to resonate in its sad, minor key.

Landmark dates in 30 years of 'Sesame Street'

1969: *Sesame Street*, developed by Joan Ganz Cooney, executive director of the Children's Television Workshop, premieres on November 10 on NET (the predecessor to PBS) and several commercial stations in the US.

1970: Big Bird appears on the cover of *Time*. The show wins three Emmys and a Peabody Award.

1974: *Sesame Street* airs on 250 American TV stations and in 41 countries.

1979: Kermit the Frog hosts *The Tonight Show*.

1980: "Sesame Place" theme park opens near Philadelphia.

1982: Big Bird visits China.

1983: Will Lee, who portrayed Mr. Hooper, dies. As an example of how to tell young children about death, the decision is made not to replace the actor or have

the character "move away."

1984: Elmo, a curious three-year-old Muppet, joins the cast.

1988: Maria and Luis get married; children and their parents follow Maria's pregnancy on the show.

1989: Maria and Luis have a baby girl named Gabriela.

1990: Muppets creator Jim Henson dies.

1993: The US Department of Education determines that 77 percent of all pre-school children watch *Sesame Street* at least once a week.

1993: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton makes a guest appearance on November 22.

1998: Embarking on its 30th season, *Sesame Street* now airs in 141 countries and has won 71 Emmys. (Newsday)

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OPINION

Complete direct elections reform

YOSEF GOELL

There are no perfect electoral systems. They all have their pluses and minuses. The real trouble, however, is that many of us have abominably short memories.

For the first time since we instituted the direct election of prime ministers alongside our pristine form of proportional representation in the Knesset, there is a distinct possibility that the requisite Knesset majority could be found to reverse that reform - reverting to the previous system of choosing the prime minister by party haggling.

The reform was adopted earlier this decade when an unusual confluence of political stars led then Labor Party leader, the late Yitzhak Rabin, and the aspiring successor to the Likud's Yitzhak Shamir, Benjamin Netanyahu, to believe that direct elections would work in their respective favors. Today

and haredi MKs in his attempt to bring down the Shamir government and replace it with his own. When the attempt failed and Peres' machinations became public knowledge, confidence in the entire political system collapsed. Even the jaded politicians of the two major parties perceived the situation as a threat to the political system's legitimacy, leading to the surprising adoption of the direct election law, whose implementation was postponed till 1996.

The main arguments against continuing with the new system is that it has put a premium on Netanyahu-type egomaniacs whose major forte is winning elections rather than running the country intelligently, and that opposed to predictions, the law has resulted in the proliferation and strengthening of the smaller parties as a result of

What is urgently needed is not a reversion to the previous flawed system, but to complete the reform

Netanyahu is reportedly changing his mind, as is Rabin's successor, Ehud Barak.

The idea of electoral reform has been around since the mid-1950s when prime minister David Ben-Gurion despaired of ever winning a majority for his party under the proportional representation system. Revolving around the institution of constituency elections to the Knesset, the idea got nowhere for four decades. Then, all of a sudden, a very different reform - the direct popular election of the prime minister - was adopted in 1992.

One of the main motives behind the adoption of the law was the widespread public revulsion against Shimon Peres' "stinking maneuver," as Rabin labeled it, by which Peres was prepared to "buy" the crucial votes of renegade Likud

a split ticket.

I believe the first is largely a teething problem typical of any new system. All politicians are characterized as having over-inflated egos which can assume gargantuan proportions in politics with ambitions to lead their parties and the country. As opposed to Netanyahu, however, candidates for the premiership such as Rabin and Peres, both with no small egos of their own, had impressive records of achievement behind them.

The problem of the strengthening of smaller parties at the expense of Labor and Likud is a serious one, but it is largely the fault of the two major parties who are perceived by a large part of the electorate as standing for nothing except driving up jobs and perks among their elected representatives. If the leaders of the two

Dry Bones



The Inflationary Dragon

Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel's announcement of a 2 percent increase in the key lending rate on Thursday night, in a surprise move that was fully intended to catch the markets off guard, sparked a predictable round of complaints from political interests and industrialists. Frenkel's decision, however, appeared to be fully vindicated yesterday with the publication of October's consumer price index.

The sharp 3% upward jump in prices in one month, bringing the inflation rate for the first 10 months of the year to 7.2%, indicates to what extent Israel still needs to press forward in the fight against inflation. Only when the fundamentals underlying the economy are stabilized and brought back to healthy levels will the growth we had become used to in the early part of the decade come back in full force.

Frenkel's critics were quick to point to some admittedly depressing facts. The economy - which, as recently as 1996, was considered a surging force growing so fast it was closing in on some of the leading nations in Western Europe in per capita GDP - has now suffered two painful years of a slowdown. The small growth in GDP this year is expected to fall so far short of population growth that per capita output is likely to be registered in negative numbers. Unemployment has jumped to frighteningly high levels nationally, and in some depressed towns the unemployment rolls include well over 10% of the potential labor force.

The government's one major success in its economic performance, pulling down annual inflation from double digits to rates more in line with Western standards, has now absorbed a strong blow following the shekel's sudden devaluation over the past month. If even the government's ambitious inflation target - which was used to justify monetary austerity measures - cannot be met, ask the critics, what has been gained?

The economy indeed cannot afford to lose yet another year. If 1999 sees a further shrinkage in productivity, the cumulative effect over three years will be unbearable. It is precisely for this reason that steady hands at the helm are needed to ensure stability as we go through the turbulence brought about by the volatility in the foreign exchange market. If inflation breaks through into an upward spiral, there will be no hope for a real recovery in the next year. Those hardest hit in such a scenario will be the weakest sectors, suffering the double blow of lack of jobs and ever-rising prices eating up whatever savings they have.

There are two major justifications for the timing of Frenkel's sudden interest-rate hike. For one thing, as Frenkel himself put it, inflation is best tamed when it is still small. There are a good number of psychological factors involved when it comes to prices and inflation. The recent shekel devaluation can explain only part of the latest price rises. Items wholly imported from abroad

will obviously reflect changes in exchange rates. But there is no real justification for the sensitivity of the housing market to changes in the shekel's dollar value - after all, the supply and demand for the purchase or rental of dwellings in a country in which salaries are earned in shekels should not be affected at all by the prevailing dollar rate. And even if one concedes that prices in the housing market are at least nominally set in US dollars, what explanation is there for increases in fruit and vegetable prices? The real danger here is that an inflation mentality will set in motion a cycle of auto-catalytic price rises justifying themselves by previous price markups.

The other factor that needs to be considered are the recurring threats by various Knesset factions to bring down the government and call for early elections in the coming months. In a perfect world, politicians would keep political and economic considerations separate for the best interests of the country. In reality, however, the economy is held hostage to myriad political interests. Since voting against the budget is a form of voting no-confidence in the government, the passage of the budget depends as much on political deal-making as it does on the merits of the Finance Ministry's deficit cutting and infrastructure investment. Knesset factions intent on expanding the slice of the national pie handed out to narrow sectors further deteriorate the well planned articles of the budget.

The biggest threat to sound economic policy-making is undoubtedly elections. If new elections are called in the coming weeks, immediate election-year economic "feel good" policies can be expected to emanate from the beleaguered government. Even if the threat of early elections hangs like a political sword over the head of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu over the coming months, the temptation to adopt election economic theories on the part of the government may be too strong to overcome. Under such conditions, actions such as those of Frenkel's last week would be virtually impossible.

The wisdom of preserving the independence of the governor of the Bank of Israel from political considerations is now clearer than ever. The same can be said about Yaakov Neeman, Israel's first non-partisan finance minister, who is politically beholden to no party. It is precisely his political independence which has enabled him to steer a steady economic course, while composing a sensible budget and proposing a badly needed revolution in the country's taxation structure.

There have recently been rumors that Netanyahu is willing to offer the finance portfolio to one of the parties inside or outside his coalition in order to shore up his parliamentary support. This could be disastrous. For the sake of the country's future, Netanyahu will hopefully realize the importance, especially now, of preventing political considerations from unduly influencing what should be purely economic decisions.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ARAFAT'S CLAIMS

Sir, - A news item in your November 6 issue reported that Yasser Arafat reiterated his claim that he is making "a 100% effort" to prevent terrorism, but cannot ensure 100% success.

Not only is Arafat not making a 100% effort to prevent terror, he himself - as well as his cabinet ministers and official Palestinian

Authority media - are actively inciting and encouraging terrorism. Despite his signature on the new Wye accord, Arafat continues to incite his people to violence instead of urging them to live in peace with Israel. In a speech to his Fatah movement in Ramallah, Arafat threatened that "Our rifles are ready and we are ready to raise

them again" and declared that "Nobody can play games with us, because we have new 'generals' and they are ready for any possibility" - a reference to the young Palestinians who spearheaded the mass violence of the intifada.

These words and actions must cease if there is to be any chance for genuine peace.

MORTON A. KLEIN
National President,
Zionist Organization of
America.

New York.

REMEMBER THE ELDERLY

Sir, - There are many elderly who must use public transportation and who cannot afford taxi services.

Drivers of Egged buses must be taught to bring their buses up to the curb so that these elderly would not have such a hard time getting on and off the buses.

DR. CARL LAMPNER
Jerusalem.

S. GOLDENBERG
Jerusalem.

ADJUSTING TO THE TIMES

Sir, - Rabbi Ehud Bandel praises the newly published Rabbi's Manual for "showing the heart of the Conservative movement." I heartily agree. His statement clearly demonstrates the egregiously erroneous interpretation of Halacha typical of the Conservative movement. He states that Halacha "must adjust to the times" and "be connected to the reality we live in." High sounding concepts but it is not the Halachic approach to Torah exegesis.

In Deuteronomy 4:2 we are commanded, "You are shall not add to the word which I command

you, nor shall you subtract from it." The Torah warns that any change would detract from the Divinely revealed way of life. Let alone the rabbis, even the Prophets had no authority to make innovations (Talmud, Shabbat 104a). Therefore unlike Rabbi Bandel's contention that Halacha should be adjusted to the times, the Torah demands the diametric opposite: the times must be interpreted and adjusted in the light of the eternal wisdom of the Torah.

DR. CARL LAMPNER
Jerusalem.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On November 16, 1933, The Palestine Post reported that the High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, had assured Palestine Arabs that his government would take severe steps against illegal immigration and that 1,000 certificates for prospective Jewish immigrants had already been deducted from the quota on account of people who overstayed their visas.

50 years ago: On November 16, 1948, The Palestine Post reported that Moshe Sharett, Israel's Foreign Minister, had told the UN that Israel claimed full membership, the inclusion in Israel of Jerusalem and the territory uniting it to the coast, access to the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, and the whole of the Negev.

25 years ago: On November 16, 1973, The Jerusalem Post reported that disengagement talks had begun between Israel and Egypt on the west bank of the Suez waterway and that 26 wounded Israeli POWs were exchanged for 412 Egyptians. Most Labor leaders came out in favor of appointing an inquiry commission into the questions arising from the initial stages of the Yom Kippur war.

Alexander Zvielli

Operation Fresh Start

URI DROMI

reluctantly getting used to the idea.

Instead of lamenting the loss of land, we should reflect with great satisfaction over the course of events since 1937, when we were first offered our meager share of the Partition Plan, and marvel at how much we have accomplished since then. There is a lot to be proud of, yet important tasks still lie ahead.

The goal of this peace process is to guarantee the security and tranquility of Israelis. Nevertheless, it

Many of the residents of Judea and Samaria may consider moving back within the Green Line rather than being surrounded by Palestinians. This offers us an opening for a critically important joint project for Israel and Diaspora Jews

implementation causes pain and fear among many of us, and none more than our brothers and sisters, who have been living in Judea and Samaria for the last 30 years. Let us not forget that Labor and Likud governments alike urged them to build their homes there. Unlike the diehard ideologues, many of them may consider moving back within the Green Line rather than being surrounded by Palestinians.

WHATEVER they choose, they should be warmly embraced by all of us. This is not a time for glee but

for solidarity. These people, who spent the best years of their lives in a place they believed was home, could very well be uprooted. In addition to empathy, they will need our assistance. When the time comes, where should they go? We should provide them with the best we have to offer. This offers us an opening for a critically important joint project for Israel and Diaspora Jews. Let us call it Operation Fresh Start.

Think, for instance, of the young,

Hebron, might provide the solution, - a pioneering settlement that is nestled safely in the heart of the national consensus.

As Israelis turn to this new challenge, the involvement of Diaspora Jews is crucial. With their support, Operation Fresh Start will become what Project Renewal was for the Seventies and the Eighties and what Operation Exodus was for the Nineties. Jewish communities abroad would be linked to specific projects such as the adoption of a school, a community center, or a clinic.

Developing high-tech industries in areas enjoying an influx of new residents could also be an undertaking of world Jewry. These projects could become a vehicle for much needed one-on-one contacts between Israelis and Diaspora Jews, working together in a *tachlit* partnership for the future of the Jewish people.

When the issue of the Greater Land of Israel is finally completely behind us, another issue, no less fundamental, will loom over the horizon: What will Israeli society look like? Will it be open, pluralistic, and democratic? Will it be closed, sectarian and theocratic? Diaspora Jews, by helping us smooth the journey from the Greater Land of Israel to the new State of Israel - smaller in size but greater in value - will earn another share in our future, and rightly join us in addressing these questions.

The writer was director of the Government Press Office, 1992-1996.

What Clinton didn't know

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

Now that the midterm election results have slowed down the impetus towards impeachment, it is time to reflect on how President Bill Clinton got himself into the position of testifying about his sex life. Difficult as it may be to believe, the president did not know that he had the option of not having to testify at the Paula Jones deposition. I tell the story - never told before - of what Clinton didn't know and when he didn't know it in my new book, *Sexual McCarthyism: Clinton, Starr, and the Emerging Constitutional Crisis*. Here are the basic facts:

The president had three options, but he was only aware of two of them. He knew he could litigate and try to win - the path he eventually chose. He also knew he could try to settle the case, which would have avoided the necessity of testifying at the deposition or trial, but a settlement would require both sides to agree. In the Jones case, the president reportedly offered to pay Jones \$700,000 to settle the case. Jones insisted on an apology, however, and the settlement talks eventually broke down.

The third option - of which the president was unaware - was to default the Jones case. Every litigant in a civil case has the right to default - to settle the case unilaterally by simply refusing to contest the allegations in the complaint. No

stigma is attached to defaulting a case. It does not even necessarily entail an admission of liability. It represents a practical assessment of the costs and benefits of litigating and not litigating - just as a settlement does.

Robert Bennett never told President Clinton that he could have defaulted and paid Jones far less than the \$700,000 he offered without making any apology. Nor did he tell the president that he could have used the threat of defaulting to increase the chances of securing a settlement. Bennett could have approached the Jones lawyers and told them that under no circumstances would there be a trial. The only options were default or settlement. A default would probably result in monetary judgment of less than \$100,000; damages in such cases tend to be in the range of \$25,000 to \$50,000. Moreover, there would have been no apology of any kind. On the contrary, the president would assert his absolute innocence and release a statement explaining why he had no choice but to default, since litigation would take too much valuable time from his presidential duties. Settlement, on the other hand, would result in a payment of \$700,000.

FACED with these options, it is likely that the Jones lawyers would have accepted a settlement and Clinton would never have had to testify about his sex life in any proceedings. Perhaps the Lewinsky story would have leaked, but the president would not have had to dignify a rumor with a response. It was the entirely avoidable decision to have him testify under oath that turned a sex rumor into a possibly impeachable offense.

How do I know that Robert Bennett never told President Clinton of the default option? Because both men personally told me. Here is the story, publicly told for the first time.

On January 27, 1998, Robert Bennett called me to complain about what I said about him on television. I had been critical of his allowing Clinton to walk into a perjury trap. I asked Bennett a direct question: "Did you ever advise the president that in addition to the option of settling the Jones case, he could simply default on the liability phase of the case?"

Bennett replied that defaulting would have been "ridiculous" and "a stupid idea" and that he would never recommend it. He also told me that it was the president who did not want to settle the case, and that

he would never agree to default, because other women would "come out of the woodwork."

I asked Bennett what kind of an investigation he had conducted of the Lewinsky matter before he allowed the president to be deposed, and he acknowledged that he simply accepted the president's word, since it was supported by Lewinsky's affidavit. I asked him whether he had ever questioned Lewinsky, and he gave a vague response. He said he was surprised by the questions concerning Lewinsky which were asked at the deposition.

Seven months later, in August 1998 - in the presence of a dozen people on Martha's Vineyard - I asked the president whether Robert Bennett had ever told him that he had the option of defaulting, rather than testifying, about his sex life. The president said: "Nobody ever told me I could default instead of testifying. I thought I had to testify. Nobody told me about defaulting until just now."

Imagine how different the world would be today if Clinton had defaulted instead of testifying: Monica Lewinsky would be the subject of gossip, not an impeachment inquiry; there would be no sworn testimony about Clinton's sex life; and Kenneth Starr would be teaching at Pepperdine.

(United Feature Syndicate, Inc.)

150 من الامل

Boxed In

Guns to Butter: Six Fraught Ways To Contain Iraq

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

IT was not supposed to turn out this way. Tough sanctions linked to aggressive arms inspections were intended to keep Saddam Hussein boxed in, not to drive the United States into a corner.

But time and again Washington has had to turn to military action or the threat of war to beat down a challenge from the Iraqi leader, whose continued intention is to possess an armory of the world's most lethal weapons. When the confrontation ends, Iraq goes back into the box, but it is a container that gets flimsier with each showdown.

For more than a year, it has been evident to governments in every region of the world that the Clinton Administration's policy of sanctions forever has run its course. President Hussein won power by terror and depleted Iraq's resources in war and ostentation even before he unwisely strayed into Kuwait in 1990, and if he ever intended to cooperate with arms inspections, he very clearly decided within the last year that he had played the game long enough.

For months, foreign and domestic critics of the American policy on Iraq have urged the Administration to show some creativity or flexibility — or even naked muscle — to steer away from a dead end. At one extreme are those who think the time is overdue to remove the President of Iraq by marching on Baghdad. At the other are those like France, Russia, some large developing countries and most Arab nations who say they no longer see a direct military threat. They essentially urge United States to let Mr. Hussein sell oil while policing Iraq from afar, but they are also willing to stand back and let America bomb. In between, other ideas lie in wait.

The Administration has found one option particularly appealing: sporadic bombing aimed at knocking out specific sites or generally intimidating Mr. Hussein, but not removing him from power. The problem would be Mr. Hussein's survival, which would guarantee continued trouble and, if many ordinary Iraqis were killed, a loss of support around the world.

A Formidable Arsenal

A full-scale attack on Iraq and, perhaps, an occupation of Baghdad is a course the Bush Administration ruled out in 1991 and the Clinton Administration is not likely to choose. It has a growing number of supporters on the conservative side of politics in the United States, but virtually no backers abroad.

Iraq was greatly weakened by the Persian Gulf war, but Mr. Hussein still has the power to force every Iraqi adult into military service and he has been allowed to keep a formidable defensive arsenal.

Joshua Muravchik, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, said that even leaving aside the material and political costs of assembling a huge army and persuading the public to accept casualties, American leaders have apparently concluded that there is little point in ousting Mr. Hussein; the rationale is that responsible, democratic government doesn't seem to work in the region. But Mr. Muravchik, the author of "Exporting Democracy," argues that's no excuse.

"The lessons learned in the 1930's about aggressors led us to get rid of them," he said. "We occupied Germany and Japan to insure that there would be more benign governments. That clearly was what would have been necessary in Iraq, but we didn't have the courage to do it." Now, he said, it is up to dissidents to overthrow him.

Arab diplomats respond that an American occupation of Iraq — in the heart of a region that still harbors resentment of the British occupation after the fall of the Ottoman Empire following World War I — would be a calamity. The Iraqis under Saddam Hussein are especially sensitive on this issue, but they are not alone.

"It would be preposterous," said Clovis Maksoud, a former United Nations representative of the Arab League who now directs American University's Center for the Global South in Washington.

The Arab world has two major popular causes: the completion of the Mideast peace agreement and the end of suffering for the people of Iraq. A military occupation would inflame a region where the United States has little power of persuasion and little presence. From Pakistan almost to the Mediterranean,

Continued on Page 12

An F-117A Stealth fighter.



Homes encroach on farmland in McFarland, California, near Bakersfield.

David Wells/The Image Works

Dreams of Fields

The New Politics Of Urban Sprawl

By TIMOTHY EGAN

WHAT the author Tom Wolfe did for radical chic in the 1960's, narcissism in the 70's, and greed in the 80's, he may now be doing for runaway real estate development in his new novel on America at century's end. Urban sprawl, with all its strip-mall excess and soul-deadening homogeneity, is not just a central backdrop, but almost a character in "A Man in Full," the author's latest pen poke at contemporary life.

"The only way you could tell you were leaving one community and entering another was when the franchises started repeating and you spotted another 7-Eleven, another Wendy's, another Costco, another Home Depot," Mr. Wolfe writes. He was describing the Bay Area of California, but it could have been any metro area in the country.

On election day, voters from Southern California to New Jersey showed that the sprawl issue may have become a political driving force no less than a narrative function in the fictional world of Mr. Wolfe.

Voters across the country and across party lines, from desert suburbs in the West to leafy cul de sacs in the East, voted to stop the march of new malls, homes and business parks at the borders of their communities, and to tax themselves to buy open space as a hedge against future development.

For Vice President Al Gore, who has been ratcheting up the sprawl issue as a top green concern, edging

aside more contentious and sometimes what abstract environmental concepts like global warming, the votes are seen as the start of a winning national campaign. Who, after all, could be against what the Sierra Club now describes as an attempt to return to Beaver Cleaver's America, albeit with smaller lot sizes?

Paving Paradise

"I've come to the conclusion that what we really are faced with here is a systematic change from a pattern of uncontrolled sprawl toward a brand new path that makes quality of life the goal of all our urban, suburban and farmland policies," Mr. Gore said in an interview.

But Republicans like Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, have also listened to the same complaints around the barbecue. At the very edge of what the author Joel Garreau famously labeled "Edge Cities," people say their new communities have become too dependent on the automobile, too removed from nature, too close to the clutter of busy retail stores.

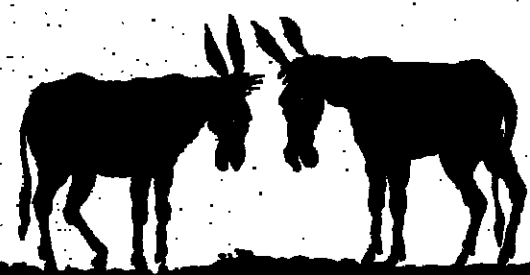
Paving paradise, almost a reflex reaction in Southern California, was halted by a huge majority in Ventura County, where voters approved a series of urban boundaries around the fast-growing new cities wedged between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, and stripped their elected supervisors of the power to approve new subdivisions and put it in the hands of voters instead.

Developers now will have to get voter approval to push the flood of tile-roofed subdivisions any further

Continued on Page 102

Be Careful What You Wish For
The specter of success
haunts the Democrats.
By Adam Nagourney

10



Alternative Method
The weird science of
testing herbal remedies.
By Gina Kolata

11

The Next Lama
Tibet and China clash
over a successor.
By Seth Faison

12

The Nation



Watching Watergate hearing reruns, (clockwise from top left) Republican Representatives Ed Bryant of Tennessee, Bob Inglis of South Carolina, Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, Steve Buyer of Indiana and Steve Chabot of Ohio.

Impeachment Maneuvers

Wrapping Things Up, in Knots

By ALISON MITCHELL

CALL it "No Exit," the Capitol's own existentialist drama. The American public has signaled that it wants the drive to impeach President Clinton to end. So do most House Democrats. So do many Republicans. Yet the Republicans and Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee have such a strange synergy that they just cannot seem to stop egging each other on and on and on.

Take the dispute over which witnesses should appear before the committee as it examines Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky and whether he lied about it in various legal proceedings.

Last month, it was the Democrats who first said they were interested in casting the spotlight on Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel, to pose tough questions to perhaps the most unpopular man in America on the conduct of his investigation.

Representative Henry J. Hyde, the Illinois Republican who is the committee

chairman, obliged — with a twist. Days after House Democrats made gains in mid-term elections, he announced a scaled-back impeachment inquiry that would feature Mr. Starr not simply as one of the major witnesses, but as the only one. Republicans are hoping Mr. Starr's appearance on Thursday will backfire on the Democrats, with the prosecutor making a compelling case against Mr. Clinton. Setting the stage last week, Mr. Starr sent more evidence to the committee, this time concerning allegations by Kathleen Willey, a former White House volunteer.

But Democrats on the committee are now protesting that it is unfair to question only the prosecutor and bring forward no witnesses who might rebut him. So some Republicans are now looking to add other major witnesses like Bruce R. Lindsey, the deputy White House counsel who is a long-time confidant of Mr. Clinton.

Before the Nov. 3 election, this kind of point-counterpoint had some political utility. Republicans and Democrats alike were trying to use the Clinton scandal to rev up their core voters and send them to the polls.

Now that the people have spoken, pragmatism might dictate that the committee find a graceful exit from its inquiry.

But packed with hard-line conservatives and liberals, the committee has always been one of the most ideologically divided in the House. And the impeachment inquiry has only ratcheted up the tensions and maneuvering. "There's very little middle in the Judiciary Committee," sighed Representative Chris Shays, a moderate Connecticut Republican not on the panel.

So Mr. Hyde and his Republicans seem grimly determined to push on and charge Mr. Clinton with undermining the nation's legal system. And the Democrats do not intend to help them.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the House Minority leader, said last week that even though he wanted the inquiry brought to an end, that did not mean he would not criticize it as slipshod and flawed.

"Otherwise," he said, "you get accused of being complicit with this whole thing and liking it and saying its fine and putting on the Good Housekeeping seal of approval. I'm not going to do that."

The New Politics of Urban Sprawl

Continued from Page 9

into land that has some of the last big lemon groves in California. About 80 percent of the county will be off-limits to developers, unless voters say differently, supporters of the measure said. The Los Angeles Times heralded the vote as a "revolution."

In New Jersey, the most densely populated state in the nation, voters in 43 cities and six counties decided to raise their taxes to buy and preserve open space. Statewide, by a two-to-one margin, voters also approved spending nearly \$1 billion over 10 years to buy half of the Garden State's remaining garden space.

Grass Roots

Nationwide, voters approved nearly 200 state and local ballot initiatives on curbing sprawl.

The idea of Al Gore talking growth management for the next two years and beyond may be no more appealing than hearing another flat tax speech from Steve Forbes. The Vice President has been pounding the anti-sprawl bully pulpit for months, proclaiming the dawn of "an American movement to build more liveable communities." The issue is seen by his supporters as a key to all those Jeep Cherokee driving suburbanites with few political passions beyond the afternoon traffic jam. The elections earlier this month, based largely on grass-roots initiatives, have only bolstered Mr. Gore's case, his aides say.

But before Mr. Gore tries to lay a Democratic claim to an issue that cuts beyond most political lines, he will have to go through the Republican Governor of New Jersey. Just five years ago, Mrs. Whitman was held up by her party as a young Margaret Thatcher, with tax cuts as her banner.

Now, a year into a second term, Mrs. Whitman has made protecting open space the primary issue — and perhaps her legacy — for the state. In what may be an act of heresy to the tax-cutting wing of her party, the Governor has been campaigning for tax increases to keep land out of the hands of developers. Initially, she proposed an increase in the gas tax, but has settled on the kind of selective property tax increases that were approved across New Jersey on election day.

"We have got to understand that once land is gone, it's gone forever," said Mrs. Whitman while pushing the new open space mea-

asures. She could have been just another door-beller from the Sierra Club, which, in response to a survey of members, has put sprawl at the top of its list of environmental concerns. The club says 400,000 acres of open space are lost to development every year.

The successful anti-sprawl campaigns steered away from talk of Government control or zoning arcana. They dwelled instead on images of lemon groves and tawny hills in Southern California, pumpkin patches and horse farms in New Jersey, and wind-whipped dunes in Cape Cod — all just beyond the exurban fringe.

"We're not trying to subvert the American dream — we're trying to get back to it," said Larry Bohlen, co-chairman of the Sierra Club's national campaign to fight sprawl. "It's that 'Leave it to Beaver' town where all the kids walk to school."

Opponents of these measures, led in California by home builders and developers, say the new political calculation could change in the blink of an eye if the economy turns bad. In bad times, people are less likely to vote to restrict growth. But in Oregon, which pio-

Voters seek a return to the land of 'Leave It to Beaver,' but with smaller lots.

neered boundaries around all its major cities in the 1970's, voters have upheld the state's far-reaching anti-sprawl laws even during the depths of two recessions over the last 20 years.

Developers say the votes this month were not so much an anti-growth chorus as they were a reflection of the frustration people feel over traffic and crowded schools. Still, the opponents say they are stunned by how quickly suburban growth has become a pejorative. "We seem to be at a point now where the word sprawl has been totally demonized," said Clayton Traylor, vice president for political issues for the National Association of Home Builders, which has 195,000 members.

Washington politicians may find it difficult to nationalize what is basically a local

issue. Mr. Gore has raised the possibility of using the Federal tax code or major transportation bills to discourage growth that goes against community planning goals.

"In the past, we adopted national policies that spend lots of taxpayer money to subsidize out-of-control sprawl," Mr. Gore said. "They suck the life out of urban areas, increase congestion in the suburbs and raise taxes on farms."

Mr. Gore is vague on what, precisely, could be done on a national level. But whatever he attempts to do will be met by stiff opposition if it ends up slowing development. Mr. Traylor said. Building lobbies for highways and some conservatives were outraged that the \$217 billion transportation bill that was just approved by Congress contained a small amount of money for bike paths.

"To the extent that the Vice President or anyone else at the Federal level tries to turn off the spigot for new infrastructure, we'll be there to fight them," Mr. Traylor said.

In Maryland, however, turning off the spigot proved to be a winning political cry, as supporters of new developments were hastily dispatched on election day. A Republican who favored two huge projects in Anne Arundel County, County Executive John G. Gary, was voted out office, while Republicans who vowed to pull the plug on new water and sewage systems in neighboring Calvert County took control of the Board of Commissioners.

Homebuilders Heartened

In other states, developers have tried to co-opt the anti-sprawl movement. Arizona voters narrowly approved a measure, sponsored by the state's banking and building industry, that would set aside \$20 million a year for 11 years to buy open space. But in return, the law would ban development fees and urban growth restrictions.

The homebuilders were heartened by at least one of the sprawl votes that went the other way. In Georgia, voters turned down a measure to use a real estate transfer tax to preserve historical sites and open space. Georgia is the main setting for Mr. Wolfe's novel, a place where a huge, troubled development at the far edge of suburban Atlanta is at the core of one man's decline.

A Party So Happy It Could Burst

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

THERE were cheers in the White House when this year's election returns came in. Across Capitol Hill and across the nation, Democrats seized on the results — five new seats in Congress, the toppling of some of the nation's most conservative Senators, a few gains across the South — as if they were the first signs of spring.

The reaction was, in retrospect, peculiar, for two reasons: The first is that the Democratic Party has arguably not undergone the kind of rejuvenation that some of its leaders discerned in the results of Nov. 3. And the second is, even if it has, there are good reasons why its leaders might not want to get too excited about it.

If there is one recurring lesson in American politics over the past decade, it is that few things are more hazardous than success. Politicians are forever ignoring history, claiming mandates that voters never intended and then paying a price for their miscalculation.

It took President Clinton almost two years to recover from his failed effort to persuade Congress to adopt a national health care plan, inspired by the exuberant reaction the idea got when he broached it in New Hampshire in 1992. The seeds of Speaker Newt Gingrich's demise were planted when he and the Republicans won control of Congress in 1994 and confidently proceeded to overplay their hand.

Compared with Mr. Clinton in 1992 and Mr. Gingrich in 1994, the Democrats have clutched at a slender reed this time: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich defeated real opponents, while the Democrats merely beat expectations, doing better than the Republicans said they would. Still, Democrats across the country were talking last week about a new, post-Gingrich political paradigm: the decline of the right and the ascendancy of a new Democratic center.

"We, the Democrats, are changed for the next decade, for the better — It took us 10 years to learn the lesson," said Charles E. Schumer, the New York Democrat who upset Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato in one of the contests that most cheered the party.

Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist group closely identified with President Clinton, described the vote as nothing short of a political coming of age. "The Clinton-New Democrat redefining of the center has finally taken hold," he proclaimed.

It will probably take another election cycle or two to judge whether Mr. From and Mr. Schumer are correct about the ideological remaking of their party.

Other Democratic leaders, however, have a different interpretation of the election. And the contrasting views augur a resurgence of the ideological dissension that Bill Clinton managed to quiet in 1992 to become President.

In 1992, Mr. Clinton took advantage of the fact that the Democrats had been out of the White House since 1980 and were thus starved for victory. He could largely ignore liberal Democratic constituencies and move to the center, where, as he liked to say back then, elections are won. Mr. Gingrich's success in 1994 helped silence the Democrats' liberal wing again: In that atmosphere of Republican triumph, it was hard to persuasively argue that the path back to power was on the left.

Rumblings on the Left

But last week it was possible to argue just that. In an interview, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson declared, with considerable justification, that the Democratic Party had succeeded because its traditional constituents — blacks, women, union members — had come back to the polls. The election was proof, Mr. Jackson said, in a swipe at Mr. Clinton and his supporters, that the party had made a mistake with what he described as the "push away from labor, push away from blacks" approach.

"In 1998, we put all our players back on the field again — labor, women, blacks, Hispanics, businesses that have benefited from growth — and with our full team we won," said Mr. Jackson. He added that he was thinking about running for President again. And he said he would push the party to embrace universal health care and to funnel money from criminal justice into school construction. "I intend between now and the year 2000 to force the party leader-

ship to come to grips with those issues," Mr. Jackson said.

Democrats who have been trying to moderate their party's course and who took the election as a testament to their success said they were unconcerned by such remarks. Still, it was clear from their comments last week that they would like to avoid a reprise of the Democratic infighting that has buoyed Republicans in the past.

"Our constituencies are all too familiar with the liabilities of being out of office," said William Carrick, a Democratic consultant based in Los Angeles. "They would much prefer to be somewhat disappointed by office holders occasionally than be in love with a bunch of people who weren't in office."

Outlook Iffy

Mr. From, who has enjoyed less than warm relations with Mr. Jackson over the years, said: "I just don't see a constituency for massive spending. It doesn't mean people aren't going to be out there calling for it."

The display of Democratic self-confidence — some Democrats are even predicting the party will take back the House in 2000 — would be risky even if the party had enjoyed an extraordinarily successful election night. But it did not. The Republicans continue to control both houses of Congress. They hold most governorships.

And for the Democrats the outlook for the 2000 Presidential election isn't all that great. The Democrats' main contender, Vice Pres-

Democrats are upbeat over the election but disagree on why. Maybe they shouldn't be so upbeat.

ident Al Gore, is, like Mr. Clinton, under investigation for campaign finance abuses, an inquiry that shows no sign of going away anytime soon. If nothing else, the scrutiny means that Mr. Gore is unlikely to reprise some of the more innovative, and effective, methods the Clinton White House came up with to raise and spend money in the 1996 Presidential campaign.

And both Mr. Gore and his main rival, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House Democratic leader, are familiar figures in American politics by now — perhaps too familiar to voters ready for a change.

In any case, Democrats are taking heart from exceedingly modest gains. They managed not to slip below 40 seats in the Senate and give the Republicans a filibuster-proof majority. While they won a gubernatorial election in California, they lost in Texas, Florida, Illinois, Michigan and New York.

And Democratic gains this time came largely because of Republican missteps. It was the Republicans, after all, who allowed expectations to rise so high that even a modest Democratic showing was portrayed as a triumph. "I didn't notice this election as having been notable — except notable for how much the Republicans overestimated," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat.

And it was the Republicans who decided, at the last minute, to shift the focus to Mr. Clinton's morals. That was, even Republicans now say, a political miscalculation of the highest order. "The joke here is that Republicans tried to turn it into a referendum on the President, and the President won," said Stuart Stevens, a Republican consultant.

But even as Mr. Stevens was speaking, Republicans were pushing ahead with impeachment proceedings in Washington. "The Republicans seem to be digging themselves in ever deeper," said Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the historian. "I would think the one thing they learned from the election is it is a great mistake to extend the impeachment process. But they seem to have the bit between their teeth on that."

If that is the case, then it might not matter how much skirmishing the Democrats do in their moment of almost-victory. The Republicans might help them out again.



Left Democrat, center Democrat: the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and President Clinton.

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Ideas & Trends

The Herbal Potions That Make Science Sick

By GINA KOLATA

In San Diego on Tuesday, two major drug companies rolled out studies showing the safety and effectiveness of a new class of prescription pain relievers; they had been duly tested on thousands of patients, some for up to a year. Such testing was a minimum requirement before the drugs could be prescribed to millions of Americans. If the Food and Drug Administration approves, the drugs can be sold.

On the same day, the prestigious Journal of the American Medical Association held a news conference in Washington to hail the publication of six papers "evaluating" studies of alternative medical treatments.

These treatments were already on the market. The studies came after the fact. The testing involved only dozens of patients and only weeks of trials. Yet these studies, which any large drug company would have considered tentative and inconclusive, were presented as resolving questions of safety and efficacy.

Exuberant Coverage

An accompanying editorial, titled "Alternative Medicine Meets Science," used decisive words like "found," as in the study "found" that moxibustion — the burning of herbs to stimulate acupuncture points — is helpful for breech pregnancy; that a particular treatment "is helpful" for a medical condition; that researchers were able to "document" that a mixture of Chinese herbs "improves symptoms of irritable bowel syndrome."

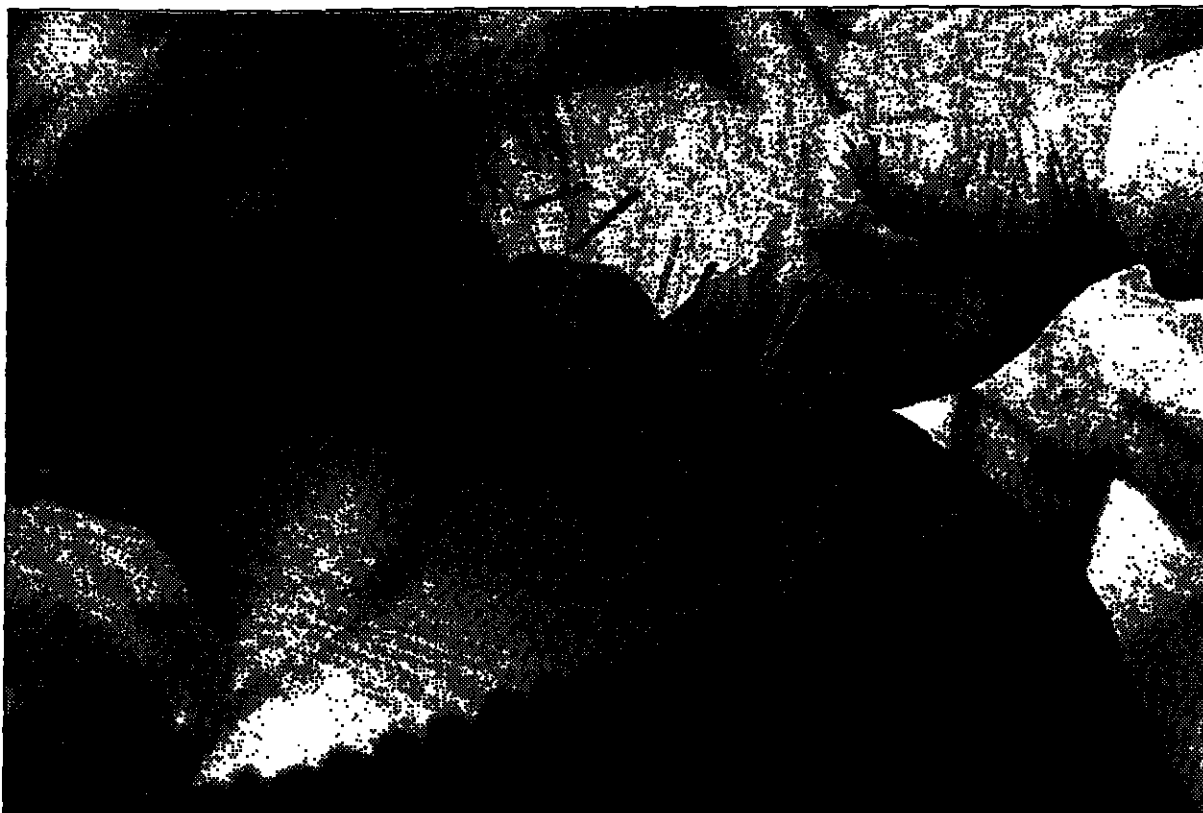
Is there a double standard? One thing is sure: the issue has stirred up supporters and skeptics.

Dr. Phil B. Fontanarosa, an editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association who helped write its editorial, said that "the trials were all well done and the usual caveats were in place." The resulting news coverage was exuberant. But Dr. Fontanarosa said that was the result of interest in the topic.

Exactly, said some critics of alternative medicine, who were stung by what they saw as an exaggeration of the importance of such modest studies.

Double standard? "Absolutely," said Dr. Richard A. Friedman, director of the psychopharmacology clinic at Cornell Hospital-New York Medical Center. With all the hoopla, the message that alternative treatments were still a scientific terra incognita got lost. "The public will be sold" on the notion that such treatments have passed muster, Dr. Friedman said.

Dr. John Hathcock, the director of nutritional and regulatory science for the Council for Responsible Nutrition, argued that the double standard works the other



Treating neck pain by inserting needles, twisting them and stimulating them with electricity.

way by hurting the vitamin and mineral industry. His group represents the dietary supplement industry.

Dr. Hathcock said that an epidemiological study, came out about a month ago linking folic acid in the diet with protection from colon cancer.

"I was talking with a high official at the National Cancer Institute, and he said, 'That's very intriguing, we're very interested, but it needs to be confirmed with a clinical trial,'" Dr. Hathcock said. "I said, 'Give me a break. There is no risk, and the effective period is 15 years.'" A study is likely to take that long to assess the effects of folic acid on colon cancer rates.

If a treatment has a low risk, the consumer does not have to be as certain of the benefit in order to use it, said Dr. Stephen DeFelice, chairman of the Foundation for Innovation in Medicine in Cranford, N.J. With actual pharmaceuticals, "we require more evidence because it is an

unknown entity, an artificial molecule," he said. Drugs "are not nature's way of handling disease," Dr. DeFelice added.

Alternative medicine is different, he said. "These things are not nearly as toxic as drugs," said Dr. DeFelice, adding that "when we go for benefits, we accept less evidence."

But that is not to say that most Americans are indifferent about evidence on whether alternative treatments work, said Lisa Meyer, a spokeswoman for the Council for Responsible Nutrition. "People are hungry for additional information," she said.

Critics of America's acceptance of alternative medicine trace it to the Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act of 1994, which enabled makers of supplements containing herbs, amino acids, botanical extracts, vitamins and minerals to sell them without the approval

of the Food and Drug Administration. These companies also can claim benefits for their products — without any supporting scientific studies. But unlike manufacturers of pharmaceuticals and devices, they are not required to report adverse effects to the agency.

With no regulations forcing them to test for product safety, no protocol for tracking bad side effects and no requirement that products demonstrate effectiveness, the alternative medicine industry has been able to sidestep the rules of drug development. Critics like Dr. Allen

Alternative treatments lack F.D.A. approval, but millions of Americans are sold.

Roses, a vice president at the drug company Glaxo Wellcome Inc., say that is inherently dangerous.

If an alternative medicine company is selling its product as a substitute for a drug, they should show that it works and that its benefits outweigh its risks, said Dr. Roses, who questioned studies like those in the medical journal. One of those studies involved 116 patients divided into three groups and studied for 14 weeks. Such a study, he said, cannot detect deleterious side effects that, as so often happens with drugs, occur only in a small percentage of people or only after people take the drug for a long time.

"If you are going to take anything, it should be based on efficacy and not on hope," Dr. Roses said. "You are crushing people's hope by giving them a treatment that is not efficacious and implying it will be."

The result has been a clash of two cultures, said Dr. William M. Wardell, the executive director of the Covance Institute for Drug Development Studies in Princeton, N.J. "The culture for conventional medicine comes out of a history of fraud and disaster," he said.

"The presumption is that drugs are ineffective and unsafe unless they are proven to be effective and safe," he added.

Alternative medicine's philosophy has been the presumption that treatments are safe and effective unless proven otherwise. Now, Dr. Wardell said, "There is a confusion of guilt by credibility."

"If sales go up from \$2 million to \$67 million, people say, 'This proves it works,'" he said. "If you can put yourself in the mind of a marketer, it's true. It works."

Where The F.B.I. Fears To Tread

By DAVID JOHNSTON

In the aftermath of last month's deadly sniper attack on an obstetrician in upstate New York, Attorney General Janet Reno announced last week that she was setting up a new investigative unit to examine the possibility that the doctor was the victim of a broader anti-abortion plot.

The unit, the National Clinic Violence Task Force, will include a dozen Justice Department lawyers and involve several law-enforcement agencies. But the main work of looking into the shooting of Dr. Barnett E. Slepian in his suburban Buffalo home and how it fits a larger pattern of organized violence will be done by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has jurisdiction over domestic terrorism.

For many in the F.B.I., that's a problem.

In contrast to the old image of gung-ho F.B.I. agents turning their surveillance machinery on political groups, a number of senior F.B.I. agents privately expressed misgivings about the Attorney General's latest task force, the second she has ordered to begin a broad investigation into a conspiracy involving anti-abortion violence.

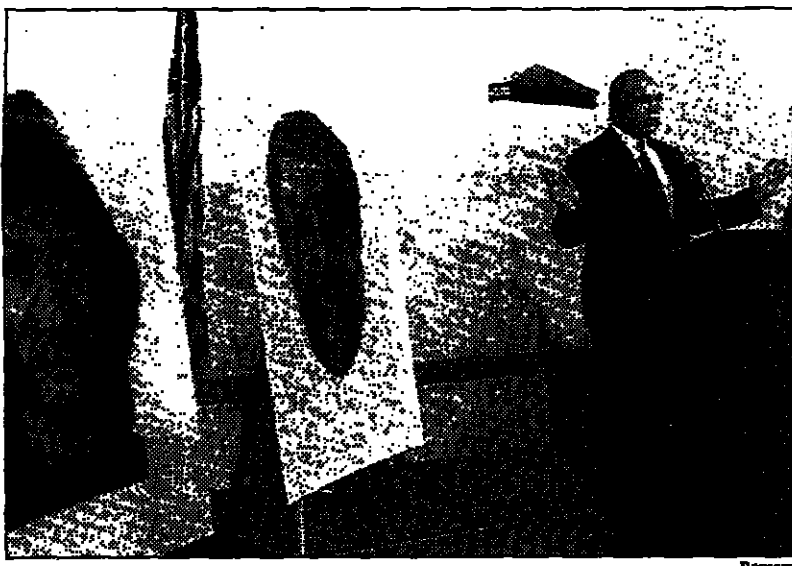
Ill-Defined Boundary

Bureau officials fear that expanding the investigation could drive the agency over the ill-defined boundary that separates inquiries into criminal activity from those into political causes and unpopular ideas.

Today's agents are eager to dis-

Crimes motivated by causes vex today's agents.

sociate themselves from the old J. Edgar Hoover days of trampling the civil rights of political dissidents in the guise of serious investigations. They do not want the agency drawn into the middle of the bitter ideological war between anti-abortion groups and abortion rights advocates, who have long asserted the existence of an organized campaign against clinics and doctors. Many of those calling



An F.B.I. official discusses suspects in two abortion clinic bombings.

for Government help were once themselves subjects of F.B.I. interest as antiwar and civil rights activists.

Senior agency officials, including Director Louis J. Freeh, were starting their careers in the early 1970's and watched in dismay as the F.B.I. was shaken by revelations about Comintpro, the counterintelligence program that allowed agents to spy on, burgle, wiretap and infiltrate antiwar and civil rights groups like

The enemy is now the ghost of Hoover.

Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Some officials are dubious that a conspiracy exists to kill doctors who perform abortions. They came up empty handed when Ms. Reno ordered the first Federal inquiry in 1994 after the killing of a Florida doctor and his bodyguard. The Justice Department conducted a two-year grand jury investigation; agents pursued some anti-abortion activists using surveillance teams. But investigators never found a specific plot against abortion clinics and staff members.

Violence at abortion clinics is only part of the problem. The F.B.I. has in recent years found itself thrown into a minefield of politically tinged cases involving the volatile worlds of anti-government militias, environmental and Christian extremists, white separatists, animal rights activists and Islamic fundamentalists.

"The F.B.I. is very quick to jump from investigating crime to investigating political association," said David Cole, a law professor at Georgetown University. "When you move from investigating crimes to investigating groups, that all-important nexus to criminal conduct gets lost, the focus gets broader and broader and you start sweeping in all kinds of lawful political activity."

In response to terrorist attacks

like the bombings of the World Trade Center in 1993, the Oklahoma City Federal building in 1995 and the Olympic park in Atlanta in 1996, the agency has increased efforts to deter such incidents in a major prevention program. In such cases, the Justice Department, the F.B.I. and other law enforcement agencies said they operate under domestic security guidelines that require investigators to find a "reasonable indication" that a group is planning to break the law before they can open an inquiry into an organization. Before the authorities can use such intrusive tactics as wiretapping or property searches, they must have specific evidence.

Yet F.B.I. agents throughout the country have quietly evaluated the threat posed by a variety of extremist groups through its links to local authorities and informal interviews with the leaders of some groups. Their conclusion is that most of these groups pose little real danger.

Lone Terrorists

Much more difficult to investigate are lone terrorists inflamed by the oratory of extremist ideology but who belong to no group, drifting along society's frayed margins, "off the grid," as some agents describe it, without the usual ties to family, friends or work.

The profile fits Eric Robert Rudolph, the fugitive wanted for bombings at the Atlanta Olympics, a gay nightclub and two abortion clinics. He has kept his beliefs mostly to himself, although acquaintances hint that he was familiar with religious extremism and hate groups.

In contrast, James Charles Kopp, who is being sought as a material witness in the killing of Dr. Slepian, left a trail of clues about his motives. He was an early follower of Randall Terry, a leader of Operation Rescue. Later, Mr. Kopp was associated with the Lambs of Christ, an another militant anti-abortion group.

One law-enforcement official said that the Government should do what it does best: "We should investigate violations," he said. "We shouldn't investigate groups."

Mixing Up the Projects

By RANDY KENNEDY

A NEW law to revive the nation's troubled public housing had a simple goal when it was first proposed several years ago: Allow more working poor families into projects that had become dominated — some would say decimated — by very poor welfare families.

The rationale, first pushed by Republicans, was that working families would be role models for their neighbors, would help stabilize projects and, by paying higher rents, would help housing authorities financially.

But buried in the 300-page bill that President Clinton signed last month is a provision that local officials warn could paralyze that effort: It requires cities to mix working families with poorer families in each and every project.

Cities say this provision will be self-defeating because it will mean having to persuade working families to move into the worst projects, while trying to keep working families already living in the better projects from fleeing when the poorest of the poor move in.

Inserted during last-minute Congressional negotiations by Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the provision has been hailed by the Clinton Administration as a tool to reach an even more important goal than income-mixing: racial desegregation. That's because, generally, the poorest tenants tend to be black and Hispanic; among the working poor, a greater proportion are white.

Mr. Cuomo says cities will have to find ways to make it work. "They will not get a penny from this department as long as they maintain segregated housing," he said in an interview, referring to race. Calling the law "a revolutionary integration plan," he said it would keep public housing from becoming even more of what it already is: separate worlds, one for working families, another for those on welfare.

Public housing in almost every city, he said, is characterized by far too many "white" buildings and "black" buildings and "Latino" buildings and "welfare" buildings. Ideally, he said, every building should reflect the racial makeup of each city's public housing system.

'Deconcentration'

Mr. Cuomo's provision calls only for economic integration. But the Clinton Administration has portrayed it as being much more about race. In September, President Clinton urged a public housing law that would "deconcentrate poverty, mix incomes and thereby mix people of all races and ethnicities."

Both sides agree that racial imbalances remain widespread in public housing and that years of official discrimination are largely to blame.

Mr. Cuomo complains that local housing officials oppose his initiative because they do not want to desegregate. But the local officials insist the law won't work.

They say there's a big difference between rooting out discrimination and trying to make people live where they don't want to live in the name of racial balance. And, they warn that at its worst, the law could turn public housing into a political battleground, as mandatory busing once did for public education.

Sweeteners

Over the last decade, even New York City, praised as having some of the best public housing, has seen its proportion of working tenants fall from half to less than a third, in part because of Federal rules favoring the poorest applicants.

The new law allows cities to offer sweeteners to working families — like lower rents or moving costs — to lure them to less desirable buildings. But many city officials say that while they favor economic integration and racial integration, too, it is unrealistic to enforce the same numerical goals in every project.

"There are places that working families are just not going to want to go," said a housing official in New York City.

Donald J. Smith, executive director of the Los Angeles Housing Authority, said, "I think given the traditional image of public housing, it's going to be difficult."

The new law says that 40 percent of newly vacant apartments must go to the poorest, those making less than 30 percent of an area's median income. (In New York, this means \$15,000 for a family of four. Families making near that amount could be working minimum-wage jobs, but

those making much less tend to be on welfare.) The other 60 percent of vacancies can go to those making more — people who almost certainly have jobs. In New York, this could mean families earning up to \$40,000, in South Texas up to \$25,000 and in Chicago up to \$45,000.

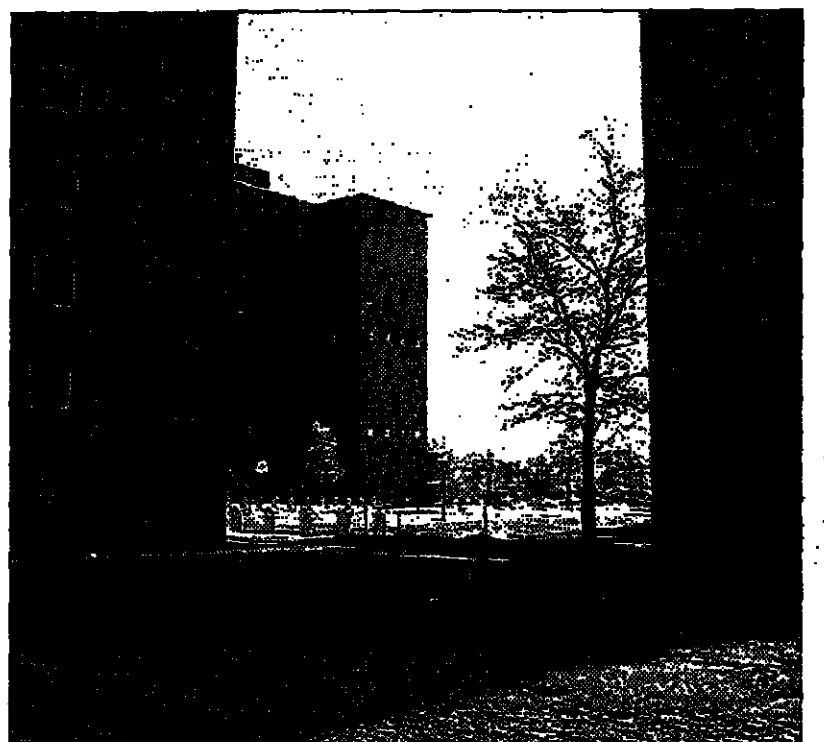
Joseph Ventrone, the staff director for the Republican-controlled House subcommittee on housing, calls Mr. Cuomo's provision "an extraordinary example of E.U.D. micromanagement which is contrary to one of the main purposes of the bill" — to give decision-making power to cities so they can find ways to attract working families.

Even some advocates for the poorest of the poor are wary.

"It's certainly necessary for someone to say it," said David Bryce, deputy director of the National Housing Law Center, "and it would be nice if someone could do something about it, but the reality is that it's incredibly complex. You've got to factor in what people of color want for themselves. You can say segregation is bad — and forced segregation is certainly bad — but you can't leap from that to say that you must desegregate all public housing projects."

But other housing advocates, including Jeff Lubell, an analyst for the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a nonprofit research group, say the law must find some way — if not Mr. Cuomo's way — to address racial segregation or risk worsening the imbalance when cities bring in working families, more of whom will be white.

"If all you achieve through the new targeting rules," Mr. Lubell said, "is lower-income families in some of the higher-income developments and other developments remaining largely very poor and minority, then is that really a good policy?"



Razing government-created slums: Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago.

The World

For Now, the U.S. Calls Russia's Bluff

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

WHEN the Kremlin finds itself in a tight economic squeeze, it acts a lot like the sheriff in the Mel Brooks comedy "Blazing Saddles." Pursued by a furious lynch mob, the sheriff puts a gun to his own head and threatens to pull the trigger if the crowd doesn't back off.

As a bitter winter closes in, Russia has again tried to take itself hostage. Kremlin aides have drawn ghastly scenarios of the troubles that they say will swamp their nation if the West refuses to supply billions in fresh aid.

Moscow's warnings are still dire. But this time, no bailout.

Rubles will roll off the printing presses, they warn, spurring hyperinflation. The nation will default on billions of dollars of foreign loans, leaving Western banks high and dry. The oratory has even been salted with talk of the collapse of the Russian state and the breakdown of nuclear controls.

This time, however, the scare tactics have not worked. Call it tough love, Russia fatigue or a simple capitulation to domestic American political pressure: For the first time in President Boris N. Yeltsin's tenure, the United States seems prepared to let his Government fall flat on its face.

This is not to say that Washington has turned its back on Russia. It is still spending

hundreds of millions of dollars to help safeguard nuclear materials. It is also sending \$625 million worth of food to keep Russians from going hungry and prevent a breakdown of the social order.

Hands Off

But having addressed the most serious security and humanitarian problems, Washington is no longer pressing the International Monetary Fund to provide billions of dollars in new assistance or trying to prop up the Russian Government.

The Clinton Administration's hands-off approach has been spelled out in a series of speeches by top State and Treasury Department officials.

"International macroeconomic support of the kind we provide through the I.M.F. must wait until the Russian Government shows itself willing and able to make the difficult structural adjustments necessary for recovery and growth," warned Strobe Talbott, the Deputy Secretary of State.

"Money from outside will do no good if it is inflated away or if it pauses only briefly in Russia before ending up in Swiss bank accounts and Riviera real estate," he added.

In political terms, the Clinton Administration's response is hardly surprising. For most of the Yeltsin years, the Clinton Administration was closely identified with the market reformers in the Government like Anatoly B. Chubais, Sergei V. Kiriyenko and Boris Y. Nemtsov. Mr. Talbott went so far last year as to proclaim that Russia had begun to turn the corner under their guidance.

The West did more than talk. A three-year, \$10-billion-dollar program of I.M.F. assistance was announced in 1996 just in time to boost Mr. Yeltsin's re-election prospects. When that was not enough, the West cobbled together a \$1.7 billion rescue plan in July to help buttress the ruble.

But Washington's expectations were shak-



Washington is chilly to Russia's requests for another I.M.F. bailout — maybe as chilly as it was in Moscow last week.

en when the rescue plan failed. Russia's reformers were forced to devalue the ruble and, in a dubious bit of policymaking, slapped a 90-day moratorium on the repayment of foreign debts held by Russian banks.

Soon the reformers were out, Yevgeny M. Primakov was Prime Minister and a new coalition Government seeded with Communists began to talk about the need for greater state control of the economy and issued a litany of potentially costly promises.

Having spent billions trying to support Russia's free market proponents without a clear victory, the West was not rushing to spend billions more — at least not until Mr. Primakov's team drew up a detailed budget and economic plan.

The Western response has been a rude shock for the Russians. Viktor Gerashchen-

ko, the Communist now in charge of the Central Bank, and Mikhail M. Zadornov, the Finance Minister, came to Washington last month with only the vague outlines of an economic plan, hoping to line up billions in I.M.F. aid. They returned empty-handed.

Whether the Clinton Administration's tough approach represents a thorough rethinking of Russia is another matter. Critics say the Administration is rightly wary of bailing out Russia, but note that the crisis came to a head when the American-backed reformers were in the saddle.

"There is no self-analysis in Talbott's speech, as if we did not play a role in what happened in Russia," said Thomas Graham, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former American diplomat in Moscow.

It is too soon to say if the Kremlin is really prepared to take the tough steps that would be required to pry loose the I.M.F. funds.

To try to soften up Washington, the Primakov team has pushed for ratification of the Start-2 treaty slashing long-range nuclear arms. It has also promised to limit the printing of new rubles and pledged budgetary discipline.

So far, however, the Russia's economic strategy is mostly just talk. A test may come next month when the Government outlines its 1999 budget, which will show how it plans to deal with its huge deficit.

"They have not done a lot of the things that worry us the most," said the American official. "But no one has seen next year's budget and it is still not clear who is really calling the shots."

Beyond the Dalai Lama

His Successor Could Be the Solution

By SETH FAISON

LHASA, Tibet
In a small movie-and-noodle house on a side street in the Tibetan portion of this holy city, a pair of young monks in red robes were watching a Hong Kong kung fu movie and slurping bowls of the house special when the Dalai Lama's name came up.

"The Dalai Lama is everything," said one.

Like most other Tibetans, this young monk worships the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, like a god and a king. Despite years of Chinese efforts to discredit Tibet's religious leader and years of persecution of Tibetans who support him, Tibetans still express such fanatical devotion to the Dalai Lama that it is evident that China cannot ignore him.

Visiting Washington last week, the Dalai Lama said he wanted to negotiate with Beijing for greater self-rule in Tibet, but warned that there is such a deep level of distrust between his exiled forces and Beijing that real talks may not be possible for some time.

The exiled Buddhist monk still irks China.

Chinese officials are so strongly opposed to the Dalai Lama precisely because he still has strong influence here, even though he fled in 1959. They portray him as the tool of foreign powers who want to undermine China's unity.

There seems little room for a compromise that would satisfy both Chinese and Tibetans during the Dalai Lama's lifetime.

All of this creates a dilemma for the Chinese when it comes to dealing with the issue of succession. When the Dalai Lama — who is 63 and apparently in good health — dies, a replacement must be chosen within Tibet, now controlled by China. Will Chinese leaders try to control the selection with their own candidate, whom Tibetans may or may not believe in, or will they try to prevent the selection of a replacement altogether?

Tibetans cling to the ancient belief that their religious leader is reincarnated in a young boy somewhere on the Tibetan plateau, and he can be found only by a deeply mystical and secretive process that by its nature is open to manipulation and earthly interference, as it has been throughout centuries of Tibetan history.



China installed 6-year-old Gyaltsen Norbu as the Panchen Lama, Tibet's second-highest spiritual leader, at a 1996 ceremony in Beijing.

The last time Tibetans chose a Dalai Lama, in the 1930's, Tibetan elders traveled to a holy lake and waited to have visions, which apparently came in only the most obscure way, reflecting simple sounds — "ah," "ka" and "ma" — that they later decided may have been a reference to the northern area of Amdo, and perhaps to the nearby monastery of Kumbum.

Disguises and a Rosary

Ify as this may sound, the elders later explained their choice of a young boy in Amdo, saying that he had recognized a rosary that belonged to the previous Dalai Lama and claiming it to be his own. The boy also identified the home monastery of the senior elder among them, they said, despite their disguises as ordinary tradesmen.

When the local warlord in the region heard that elders were looking for a reincarnation of an impor-

tant Tibetan religious leader, he demanded fantastic bribes to let the child go.

Devout Tibetans say the procedure produced a remarkably charismatic and graceful leader who now charms audiences around the world with his arguments for nonviolent change in his homeland.

The Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, though a cynic might observe that it came months after the Tiananmen crackdown in Beijing, perhaps in part as a way to condemn that act, which was unrelated to Tibet.

"The succession issue of the Dalai Lama is filled with irony, contradiction, and paradox," said Cheng Li, a professor of Chinese politics at Hamilton College in New York who is studying Tibet. "It seems that the parties most interested — the Chinese authorities, Tibetan exiles and the Western world — are all hypocritical and inconsistent."

Chinese leaders had a dry run for

the succession issue when the Panchen Lama, recognized as the second-most important Tibetan religious figure, died unexpectedly at the age of 50 in 1989. The results have been disastrous.

Worried that exiled Tibetans might try to secretly name their own Panchen Lama, officials in Beijing authorized a search group to find a reincarnation whom they could control. They entrusted the abbot of Tashilumpo Monastery, the traditional seat of power for the Panchen Lama's sect of Tibetan Buddhism, to oversee the process.

A boy was duly found, in quite the same mystical fashion that pro-

Tibetans claim the right to name their next spiritual leader, but Beijing wants control.

duced the Dalai Lama. But the boy's name was quietly passed to the Dalai Lama, who approved the choice before Beijing had a chance to announce it. Beijing was so angered that it denounced the boy, put his parents under detention, arrested the abbot who had been in charge of the process and announced that a new boy would be selected.

Drawing Lots

Advised that past disagreements over the selection of a religious leader had sometimes been settled by drawing ivory lots from a holy golden urn, Beijing leaders chose this method.

It was quite a spectacle: A senior official of the atheist Communist Party overseeing an elaborate religious ceremony in Tibet, declaring that only Beijing could be the final arbiter of any choice. A new Panchen Lama was proclaimed.

But the damage was done. Today, most Tibetans seem to believe the first boy, who has disappeared, to be the true reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, and Beijing's second candidate to be a fake.

Next time around, Chinese officials say, they may decide that they are better off blocking the choice of any lama at all.

Ma Chongying, the deputy director of the Minority and Religious Affairs Bureau in Tibet, seemed to signal that as the preferred course recently when he said, "When the Dalai Lama dies, he dies. There will be no replacement."

Containing Iraq

Continued from Page 9

the United States has either no functioning American embassies — the case in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq — or uneasy relations, as in Syria and Lebanon.

The dearth of American leverage in the gulf has prompted some officials, including Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, to rethink the "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran and make overtures to the Iranians under a more open President, Mohammed Khatami. But sharp political differences within Iran between Mr. Khatami's supporters and the ultra-conservative religious leadership make any hope of using Iran as a counterweight to Iraq problematic at best. While the American overture to Iran was taking shape, Mr. Hussein was getting bolder, not more hesitant.

Hoping for Insurrection

There are those who would turn over the job of deposing President Hussein to his most opportunistic enemies. Congress has authorized \$97 million for military help to opposition groups like the Iraqi National Congress and two Kurdish resistance organizations. It is hard to find an expert on the region who thinks this course has any hope of succeeding.

Similar judgments are made about hopes that Mr. Hussein's army, or elements of it, will turn against him. A diplomat in Baghdad said in an interview early this year that the Iraqi President has layers upon intersecting layers of intelligence operations and more cells of informers than anyone can count. A hint of trouble can wipe out not only the plotter but his whole family.

The same fear attends the professional middle class and virtually all Government employees, who have also taken the hardest hit from sanctions, and are increasingly bitter about what they see as an American policy indifferent to their fate. Suggestions from outside the Administration that sanctions be redrawn or at least tinkered with to free the middle class from restrictions on travel and a range of foreign contacts have apparently been ignored. American officials say they cannot trust the Iraqi leadership not to use such openings for its own purposes.

An American expert with years of experience in the region said that perhaps only the manipulation of tribal differences in the Iraqi heartland, where Mr. Hussein and his Tikriti clan are quietly loathed, would have a hope of bringing down the regime from within. But the United States appears to have no handle on these internal divisions. And other scholars of the region, as well as many Iraqi exiles, worry about who would take Saddam Hussein's place. His sons, Uday and Qusay, described by many Iraqis as even more corrupt and ruthless than him, wait in the wings.

The argument over what to do about sanctions raises several questions. Should sanctions — above all

the embargo on Iraqi oil sales — be withdrawn, leaving Mr. Hussein with no more propaganda "baitage" to be made from his "suffering people"? Should this be done before there is a strong, fail-safe arms-monitoring process in place to keep an eye on Mr. Hussein? Or should the arms inspection system, which Mr. Hussein has turned into his most effective pressure point against the United Nations and the United States, be abandoned while sanctions stay in place?

"No inspections — and sanctions — is much worse than full inspections and diminished sanctions," said David Albright of the independent Institute for Science and International Security in Washington. His views are widely shared by experts wary of those who believe that standard intelligence methods would be as effective as inspectors who, as President Clinton says, have destroyed more Iraqi arms than the gulf war did.

But what if the world just abandoned both sanctions and inspections? There are those who believe that Iraq is no longer an immediate military threat and that the penalties being paid by the Iraqi people are too high to justify for much longer.

The Clinton Administration will never let this happen, officials say. And within the United Nations, diplomats from many regions fear the precedent it would set. "You don't bargain with the Security Council," a Scandinavian diplomat said last week, a day before the Nordic countries joined in warning President Hussein to get back in line. The sanctions-with-inspections program created for Iraq was once seen as a useful model for dealing with tyrants in a world no longer eager to mount peacekeeping missions. Many diplomats do not want to see it tossed out because of Iraq.

Fraying Sanctions

All of this leaves still one more alternative, and it may well be the one that becomes reality. This option assumes that the United States manages to keep sanctions in place indefinitely, but with dwindling support from other nations. The sanctions are already eroding. Hardly a week goes by when the press in India, an old ally of Iraq, doesn't trumpet a new agreement with Baghdad. Indians are selling Iraqi food and computers, and high-level visits have resumed. Turkey is trading through the Kurdish regions of northern Iraq, recent visitors say, and illicit commerce through Iranian coastal waters is flourishing again.

Last week, a new ferry service from Dubai linked Iraq to the gulf nations by sea for the first time since 1991. When Stouq Rashid, an Iraqi passenger, disembarked at the Iraqi port of Ummi Qasr on Tuesday, he told a Reuters reporter proudly: "This service extends a ray of hope for the Iraqi people. God willing, it will break the siege on Iraq."

Citigroup Honeymooners Off to a Rocky Start

By TIMOTHY L. O'BRIEN

HEMMED in by large windows overlooking St. Peter's Lutheran Church in midtown Manhattan, the fourth-floor library shared by the two men running the world's largest financial services concern is a study in contrasts.

In part, the library's design is coolly modern and restrained, in keeping with the personality of one of Citigroup's co-chief executives, John S. Reed. But it also reveals a certain baronial excess — in keeping with the urges of Mr. Reed's counterpart, Sanford I. Weill — such as a wall-sized fireplace painstakingly installed for about \$100,000.

Yet, despite the sort of differences in style on which many a megamerger has foundered, Mr. Reed and Mr. Weill have only grown closer in the seven months since they announced the biggest merger in history — a tumultuous period that has included wrenching financial upheaval and the departure two weeks ago of the executive considered their heir apparent.

"You never really know until you get married what it's going to be like," said Mr. Weill, 65, seated on a plump leather sofa in his private office abutting the library as he spoke of his partnership with Mr. Reed. "And I would say this marriage is off to a very good start. And we lived in the engagement period through one of the most volatile times in the history of financial markets."

Mr. Reed, 59, whose office is on the other side of the library, agrees. "We are getting along fine," he said. "Better probably than each of us in the secret hideaways of our brains thought would be the case."

The bonhomie seems genuine — a rarity when titans go into business together, rarer still when their first act is to duck the tough decision to put one person clearly in charge.

But for all the personal warmth, Mr. Weill and Mr. Reed preside over a company severely shaken by executive turmoil and struggling for direction in corporate banking, one of its two main businesses.

In separate interviews, each acknowledged the problems — indeed, Mr. Weill promised that crucial decisions would be made within the next two weeks.

"What we're doing now is horrible," he said of the corporate banking operation, "and we're going to end up losing the best of the people."

Others share his impatience. Employees complain that they get conflicting marching orders from the company's senior executives.

Fundamental decisions about the future of the company remain unmade, with the results of this month's Congressional elections threatening to upset a regulatory environment that had seemed ready to welcome Citigroup's blending of various financial services. And analysts say they need more proof that Mr. Weill and Mr. Reed can lead the behemoth they created into calmer times.

"The situation has forced them to be more engaged than they probably wanted to be when this thing was announced," said David Berry, an analyst with Keefe, Bruyette & Woods. "They have to make this thing get off the organizational charts and work in the real world."

The vision presented when Mr. Reed's Citicorp and Mr. Weill's Travelers Group merged in April remains grandiose — that of a global financial superstore selling everything from mortgages, credit cards and automobile insurance in its consumer business to stocks, bonds and loans to big companies in its corporate business.

BUT unsettling events in the real world have trampled on part of that vision. While the consumer business is off to a crisp start, the forced resignation on Nov. 1 of James E. Dimon, Citicorp's president and Mr. Weill's longtime protégé, laid bare how little progress has been made in bringing together strong-willed executives and disparate product lines in Citigroup's corporate banking business.

Previous attempts by other companies to wed the relatively staid, buttoned-down world of traditional commercial banking to the more free-wheeling world of investment banking have also run into trouble.

Commercial bankers tend to work hard at building relationships with clients, are accustomed to working within a corporate bureaucracy and receive modest salaries by Wall Street standards. Investment bankers work deal to deal, cultivate their independence and are handsomely compensated. All of this makes commercial and investment bankers strange bedfellows in even the best of circumstances.

And in Citigroup's case, the blending has been made tougher by the fact that Travelers had only begun the job of digesting its acquisition of Salomon Brothers, the bond-trading giant, when merger discussions began with



The two top executives, Sanford I. Weill, left, and John S. Reed, announcing the merger that created Citigroup.

Citigroup.

For Citigroup, the tension came to a head three weeks ago, when tempers flared and complaints were loudly aired at a retreat at the Greenbrier resort in West Virginia.

"Going there, we knew we didn't have our act together," Mr. Weill said. "We had made many more decisions on coming together on the consumer side of the business — people decisions, cost-cutting decisions — and we were not really at the same place on the corporate side. So we knew that was an issue."

ONE result of the confusion and conflict was the unceremonious ouster of Mr. Dimon, 42, whose duties included helping make Citicorp's and Travelers' corporate businesses work together. The ouster was roundly criticized by analysts and Citigroup employees, primarily former colleagues from Travelers. Of Mr. Dimon's departure, Mr. Weill would say only that "this was a unique relationship for more than 15 years," adding that "it was a week I would not want to relive."

"I think we shocked a lot of people a week ago," Mr. Weill said on Tuesday. "And I think we want to create stability and let people get a feeling of where we're going and how we're going to handle things."

Mr. Reed, noting that he liked Mr. Dimon "personally and professionally," added that he nonetheless considered Mr. Dimon's ouster "the right business decision." He and Mr. Weill, he said, are not making rash decisions as they move Citigroup forward.

"Sandy and I are pretty serious people," Mr. Reed said. "We're not cavalier, and if we did a reorganization, you've got to assume we did it for reasonable reasons, and it wasn't just, we got up one morning and decided we'd sort of shoot people at random."

THESE two men, who elected to rope themselves together in an attempt to scale a merger of Alpine proportions, are the most unlikely of soul mates.

Mr. Weill, a self-made billionaire, is the Brooklyn-born son of immigrants from Poland. He began his career as a shy Wall Street messenger, and after decades of voracious deal-making emerged as the portly and jocular head of Travelers and a fixture in rarefied Manhattan social circles.

Mr. Reed, who was raised in Argentina and Brazil, is by training a cerebral and methodical engineer who spent his entire career at Citicorp, ascending to chief executive in 1984. By nature as reserved as Mr. Weill is effusive, Mr. Reed survived Citicorp's near-collapse several years ago in part because he is abundantly skilled in the sometimes vicious art of corporate politics.

Mr. Weill is a homebody who has cultivated a coterie of loyal executives, while Mr. Reed is a globe-trotter and, for the most part, has operated as a loner. Yet the two men seem to authentically enjoy each other's company. And they are clearly determined to

make their merger a success; among the goals they have set together is a doubling of Citigroup's profits by the end of 2002, from \$6.7 billion last year.

"John's incredibly intelligent, and he has decades of experience in this global marketplace that I do not, so I learn a lot from him," Mr. Weill said. "He doesn't take any of my space, and I don't think I take any of his. He has a real interesting thought process that he goes through to come to a decision. I'm maybe more intuitive, but 99 percent of the time we come to the exact same place."

Mr. Reed countered: "He always says 99 percent. I haven't hit the 1 percent yet. One of these days I'll have to find out where we differ."

In fact, Mr. Reed readily cites one clear difference: "He gets things done through a web of people relationships, which is very different than the sort of process orientation that I've had." In addition, Mr. Reed said, "He's an instinctive manager, and I probably hadn't fully appreciated that, so I've learned to listen to some of his instincts, which are pretty good."

Still, other differences emerge from conversations with the two men — differences directly relevant to the problems that Citigroup is having in getting its feet on the ground. For one thing, Mr. Weill does not share Mr. Reed's sense of urgency about the importance of anointing and grooming a successor in the wake of Mr. Dimon's departure. For another, Mr. Reed voiced a skepticism about investment banking that Mr. Weill did not.

All of this, of course, is layered on top of continuing unrest on the corporate side of Citigroup's business.

The co-chief executives have appointed Michael A. Carpenter and Victor J. Menezes to run the corporate business, now that Mr. Dimon is gone. Mr. Carpenter will oversee the investment banking operations inherited from Travelers, as well as Citicorp's private banking and foreign exchange operations

and other capital markets activities. Mr. Menezes will look after the company's emerging-markets operation and commercial banking.

Mr. Reed and Mr. Weill said they planned to let these business operate somewhat independently in markets where Travelers and Citicorp each had "critical mass" before the merger — primarily North America. They will be consolidated where such mass did not exist — almost everywhere else.

BUT Citigroup employees say they are getting conflicting signals about exactly how all of this will proceed, and analysts remain skeptical about where things are headed.

"I think they have to do something more profound," said Judah Kraushaar, a Merrill Lynch analyst. "They have to do something about the pay structures and the egos and show a more rational organizational structure. I'm still waiting to hear something new and different."

Mr. Reed and Mr. Weill said they did not plan to adjust compensation to reduce friction between commercial bankers and investment bankers. But Mr. Weill acknowledged that because of Wall Street's troubles this summer, bonuses would be much lower this year than last. On Friday, Citigroup announced that bonuses, typically awarded in December, would be delayed until January. Some analysts speculate that a flood of talent could leave Citigroup after those lower bonuses were awarded.

It is still unclear how big a role investment banking will ultimately play in Citigroup. Mr. Weill sees the company becoming the world's top investment bank over the next five years, eclipsing rivals like Merrill Lynch and Morgan Stanley Dean Witter. But Mr. Reed's interests lie mainly in the consumer side of the merged business, where he says Citigroup can outflank its competitors by pursuing business through more "channels": credit cards, branch offices, the Inter-

net, insurance agents and stockbrokers, for example.

Mr. Reed said recent conversations with overseas clients had convinced him that many were now wary of dealing with investment bankers.

"I think banks have a more healthy relationship on the corporate side with their customers than do the traditional investment banks," Mr. Reed said. Investment banking giants like Merrill and Morgan Stanley, he said, "sort of fly in and fly out" of markets and "are very fee-oriented and very transaction-oriented."

THIS much is certain: Investment banking has been the most troublesome part of Citigroup's business. Mr. Reed noted that it was problems in Salomon's free-wheeling bond-trading business, battered by global financial upheaval, that first raised his and Mr. Weill's concerns that third-quarter earnings were going to plummet.

Discussing the matter in August at a home Mr. Weill owns on Upper Saranac Lake in upstate New York, Mr. Reed recalled, "We became aware that our interest-rate-arbitrage business or whatever you call it was hanging out there."

"We were sort of relaxed and carefree," he added, "but when we saw the quarter deteriorating in front of us, I think it forced us to concentrate." The Greenbrier retreat and the management shake-up soon followed.

So now what? In the next two weeks, Mr. Weill said, Citigroup will focus on the best ways to expand and on fixing the problems on its corporate side.

Among other things, he said he intended to "kill this bureaucracy that doesn't give the people in the field the authority to make decisions."

There are other big strategic and tactical choices to make. One is how to advance long-stalled legislation needed to keep Citigroup's insurance and banking businesses under one roof, given the ascension of Phil Gramm, a Texas Republican considered unfriendly to the cause, to the chairmanship of the Senate Banking Committee.

Another is how soon someone will be selected to take Mr. Dimon's place as the company's likely future leader — someone who will be associated primarily with Citigroup, not Mr. Weill's Travelers or Mr. Reed's Citicorp.

"It's extremely important that somebody be groomed," said Mr. Reed, who expects Citigroup's board to address the issue soon. "I was working on that with my board before the merger" — at Citicorp, few apparent successors lasted long — "and I would think the merger would simply accentuate it because neither Sandy nor I are kids."

"Also, I think — and here Sandy and I would have a slightly different description, I think — my own view is that it's quite important to the evolution of this merger that at some point Sandy and I step back and allow integrated management to take over." With co-chief executives, Mr. Reed said, it can be hard for employees to figure out who is really in charge, and to whom they report.

Mr. Weill is, indeed, of a different mind on the topic of succession.

"It's less urgent because we have C.E.O.'s," he said. "We have an agreement that we're going to have this place running like a finely tuned machine and doing incredibly well before we go." So much is to be done, yet Mr. Weill, at least, can joke about how the duties will be divided up. Strolling through the library that separates his office from Mr. Reed's, Mr. Weill points outside to a small terrace where the wood for his fireplace will be stacked.

"Who will cut the wood?" he is asked.

"John will," Mr. Weill responds with a grin.

Big, Bigger, Biggest

By almost every measure, Citigroup is far and away America's biggest financial services business.

	Total revenue (in billions)		Net income (in billions)		Shareholder equity (in billions)			
	1997	Most recent quarter, 1998	1997	Most recent quarter, 1998	1997	Most recent quarter, 1998	Number of employees	1-year stock performance
Citigroup*	\$72.3	\$20.0	\$6.7	\$0.7	\$45.1	\$48.0	160,000	+ 6.55%
Other investment banks								
Merrill Lynch	20.4	5.4	2.4	0.4	10.0	10.0	10,000	+ 1.1%
Morgan Stanley Dean Witter	27.1	7.5	2.8	0.7	14.0	15.0	27,300	+ 25.2%
Other commercial banks								
Bank of America	38.2	10.0	3.0	0.3	27.3	27.3	100,000	+ 1.8%
Wells Fargo	16.8	4.2	1.0	0.2	11.0	11.0	60,000	+ 8.8%

Sources: Bloomberg Financial Markets; company reports

*Combined 1997 figures for merger partners are estimates.

MARKET WATCH GRETCHEN MORGENSON

Insider Buying: Beyond The Spin

Delivering its third-quarter results 10 days ago, the management of CNA Financial, a large Chicago company that sells life, property and casualty insurance, had bad news and good news.

The bad: "Extremely competitive conditions" in its commercial property-casualty business caused a net loss of \$14 million, or 9 cents a share, the company said.

The good news? CNA said its top executives, who had not been big owners of its stock, had bought 1.2 million shares on Oct. 9 in a new stock ownership plan for officers. "A higher level of ownership by senior officers strongly reinforces our focus on accountability," said Dennis H. Chookaszian, CNA's chairman, in a news release. CNA is controlled by the Loews Corporation.

Investors bid the stock up almost 2 percent on the news. If management was willing to put its own money into the stock, surely good times were about to return. Maybe so. But the news release did not

note that the buys were made with company loans, not with the insiders' own money. Each loan is secured by the stock bought with it; the borrowers pay the interest.

Loan programs like CNA's are a sign of the times. Companies know how closely investors watch insiders' trades. Now their buys are becoming part of corporate spin; investors can no longer assume that an insider's big buy is an unalloyed vote of confidence.

Bob Gabele, editor of *Insiders' Chronicle*, a newsletter in Rockville, Md., tracks executives' transactions. "In the 1980's you could assume insiders were buying for one of two reasons," Mr. Gabele said. "Either it was a new insider buying for the first time, or they were buying for di-

rect investment." But loan programs make reading the tea leaves trickier. "We sense in many more cases these days that insider purchases are being made to paint the tape and make a situation look good," Mr. Gabele said.

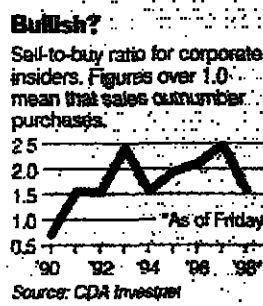
CNA did report the loan program in its quarterly statement filed on Friday, and at least requires the executives to pay back the loans. Some companies forgive these loans.

Loans guaranteed or financed by the company to help insiders buy shares, while still rare, are becoming more common. Mr. Gabele estimates that 5 percent of companies have them, but reckons they can account for up to 20 percent of insider buying. Companies as varied as Conoco,

Equifax, Navistar, the St. Paul Companies and Cummins Engine offer them.

Insider purchases are often trumpeted by companies, but the loan programs are not always as publicized. Mr. Gabele says some loans do not show up in company financial statements, though the Securities and Exchange Commission requires that loans to executives exceeding \$50,000 be flagged there. Even in cases where loans are identified, details about them — whether they will be forgiven, say — are scarce, and often come months after an insider has bought.

"Inadequate disclosure requirements regarding programs designed to prompt insiders to buy their company's shares serve only to mislead investors who rely on insider buying for investment guidance," Mr. Gabele said. "When not properly disclosed, these programs defy the spirit of the rules intended to provide the public with prompt and accurate information about the trades of U.S. corporate insiders." Buyers beware.



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Waiting for Mr. Livingston

With the accession of Robert Livingston as the next House Speaker, Republicans have proclaimed a new order in Washington. But so far Mr. Livingston remains trapped in the old issues, unwilling to assert himself. He says he wants to settle the possible impeachment of President Clinton this year, but he is standing by while Judiciary Committee Republicans squabble with Democrats and among themselves over how to proceed. As a way of exerting his leadership and defining how it will differ from Newt Gingrich's, Mr. Livingston needs to help guide the Judiciary Committee and its chairman, Henry Hyde, in finding a way through the impeachment crisis. He can then clear the way for a pragmatic Republican approach on Social Security, health care and issues the public cares most about.

As chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Livingston earned a reputation as a tough partisan who knew how and when to make a deal. Those skills are needed now that sentiment in the House is running against impeachment and counter to the determination of Mr. Hyde and the Judiciary panel Republicans to push ahead with a vote to impeach. Averting a showdown is the best path to a bipartisan agreement on the alternative of censuring Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Livingston is clearly waiting until his own formal election as Republican leader this Wednesday and for the results of the other leadership contests dividing his party. But he cannot wait much longer before addressing this issue, which could embroil the Congress for months. This will be a trend-setting test of Mr. Livingston's abilities. He gained support for the Speaker's job by tapping resentment over Mr. Gingrich's penchant for trampling on the autonomy of House committees and their chairmen. He therefore cannot run over Mr. Hyde, who is looking grumpier by the day. But effective Speakers learn to guide without dictating.

The Judiciary Committee enters a critical phase on Thursday when it hears from the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, and faces partisan struggles over Mr. Starr's tactics and whether to

call other witnesses. Mr. Livingston cannot pretend that he has no influence over the tone and direction that his party members and their chairman take, but must find a way to guide them with a subtle, respectful hand. Mr. Hyde, for example, needs to be encouraged to lean on Mr. Starr to deliver any and all additional information, like the Kathleen Willey material sent to the committee on Friday. Mr. Starr's office cites the Friday indictment of Webster Hubbell on Whitewater charges as a sign that it is moving aggressively in wrapping up its investigations. With settlement of the Paula Jones case adding to the momentum, the House Judiciary Committee needs to get into the flow and expedite its proceedings.

If the evidence does not change dramatically, a negotiated conclusion on impeachment would strengthen the Republicans' hand and create the right climate for a productive Congress. Although Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, said testily that he would not work with the Administration on a Social Security compromise, Mr. Livingston surely knows better. The public favors using budget surpluses to save Social Security, as the White House proposes, while Republicans are promising to come back with more proposals for tax cuts. A bipartisan agreement on the safety-net programs would have an added advantage for Republicans, removing a losing issue in the 2000 Presidential race.

There are many issues for which broad bipartisan agreement exists. Campaign finance reform, aid to education and protections for patients in managed care are among the top priorities of the next Congress. Mr. Livingston may recognize better than Mr. Gingrich did that if he cannot reach agreement with the Democrats, the Democrats will force agreements with enough moderate Republicans to pass their own proposals.

But the first order of business is impeachment. There is an old saying in politics that you have only one chance to make a first impression. The public and the members of Congress are waiting for Mr. Livingston to tell them who he is.

A Fresh Look at Cuba

Nearly 40 years after Fidel Castro came to power and a decade after the end of the cold war, a reconsideration of American policy toward Cuba is overdue. President Clinton was recently given a surprising and irresistible invitation to do exactly that. It came from a bipartisan group of senators and an impressive roster of former Republican national security officials. He should respond promptly and positively.

Since the 1960's, Washington has prohibited Americans from trading with Cuba, investing in its economy and traveling there as ordinary tourists. In recent years, Washington has irritated America's allies by trying to punish their commerce with Cuba as well. None of this has noticeably diminished Mr. Castro's autocratic rule or advanced American interests. Arguments justifying the embargo on the basis of Mr. Castro's close military cooperation with the former Soviet Union became obsolete a decade ago.

The United States should end its embargo at the earliest possible date and move toward normal diplomatic relations. Increasing the presence of American diplomats, business people and tourists on the island will make it easier to promote desperately needed democratic change. But the 1998

Helms-Burton law makes it impossible to substantially ease the embargo without Congressional approval. Any significant change in Cuba policy must include Congress as well.

The senators, including Republican conservatives like Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, Rod Grams of Minnesota, Mike Enzi of Wyoming and Pat Roberts of Kansas, do not endorse specific new policies. Instead, they urge Mr. Clinton to appoint a national commission to seek a new consensus. They recommend that it include foreign policy and human rights specialists, Cuban-Americans, business representatives and members of Congress.

Over time, the views of Cubans in this country have become less monolithic. Opposition to Mr. Castro remains strong. But some younger Cuban-Americans question whether isolation is the best way to encourage democratic change. The presence of human rights leaders would assure that the concerns of Cuban political prisoners and opposition leaders are not overlooked.

With Mr. Castro past 70 and in uncertain health, Cubans have begun to look toward the political future. The United States should be trying to influence their debates constructively, not isolating itself on the sidelines.

Editorial Observer/BRENT STAPLES

The Shifting Meanings of 'Black' and 'White'

The proof that Thomas Jefferson fathered a child with Sally Hemings has embarrassed historians who saw him as too noble for sex with a slave — and vindicated black descendants who knew all along that he was as lusty as anyone else. Genetic tests have linked Jefferson to Hemings's final child, Eston, born in 1808. But even historians who defended Jefferson for decades are finding it hard to believe that he avoided Hemings while the two were young and vital and made her his lover only as he approached the grave. The emerging consensus is that the two became lovers earlier and that the affair went on longer than we yet know.

The first paradox was that Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence while enslaving others. The new paradox is that he produced a mixed-race child with a slave while maintaining that African-Americans were only marginally human and a threat to white racial integrity. Jefferson was notoriously self-deceptive. Even so, it is quite possible that he viewed the mulatto Sally Hemings not as black, but as part of some middle category.

Racial distinctions that now seem etched in stone were fluid and hotly disputed in the slave-era South. As

Jefferson, Hemings and the social construction of race.

the recipient of America's first slaves, Virginia was first to encounter the confusions of miscegenation, which produced a class of people who were neither black nor white but could often live as either, depending on preference and the needs of the moment. There were court battles galore to determine who was what. Present-day America, obsessed with race, is blind to this complicated past. The fact is that racial distinctions are as shifting and arbitrary as they were when Sally met Tom.

The first slave ships sailed into Jamestown harbor in 1619. The Virginia criminal records show the first prosecution for interracial sex 10 years later, when a white man named Hugh Davis was forced to confess in church and "soundly whipped before an assemblage of Negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and the same of Christians by defiling his body in lying with a Negro."

But laws and public whippings were no check on lust across the color line. As slaves grew whiter and whiter, lawmakers scrambled for legal definitions to distinguish black from white. The first laws in Virginia — widely copied elsewhere — defined anyone who was "one-fourth white or more" as mulatto. The question of how much black blood one could have and be classified "white" was tactfully avoided, for fear that "white" citizens with Negro ancestry would be dispossessed.

The subject was especially tangled in South Carolina — particularly in Charleston, which had developed an enormous mulatto elite whose members were nearly as white and just as rich as anyone in the city. Early court records are filled with cases of fair-skinned people who were accused of being secretly mulatto but were later declared "white" by a judge and jury. Racial experts were called and family trees drawn, with the frequent result that no one could tell where the white family began and the black one ended.

In one case, the judge threw out the "expert" testimony and the blood theory of race, deciding that the plaintiff was indeed "white" because he had been well received in white

In Middle East, a Hesitant Peace

To the Editor:

Re "Israel's Conditional Yes" (editorial, Nov. 12): It's not hard to understand why Israel delayed ratification of the Wye agreement. Shortly after the accords were signed, Palestinians drove a carload of bombs at a bus full of children, and then another car full of bombs into a public marketplace. Can you imagine being part of the Israeli Cabinet and voting to ratify a peace accord immediately after such vicious attacks?

Obviously, the Palestinian crackdown on terrorism has not been sufficient. The Palestinians should thank their lucky stars that Israel has decided to go forward with the agreement at all. MICHAEL BASSIK
Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 12, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "With Conditions, Israeli Cabinet Approves Accord" (front page, Nov. 12): Once again, Israel has shown favoritism toward its right wing. The Israeli Cabinet's request for additional conditions to the Wye accords is a sign that Israel is not serious about peace.

When will the secular majority of Israel be heard?

Religious and political fanaticism are problems wherever they are present, and nowhere are they more problematic than in Israel. As a Reform Jew I am embarrassed and insulted that Israeli politics center around the few. The majority of Israel is not Orthodox; the majority of Israel favors peace. Until the Israeli Government recognizes this, Israel can be nobody's homeland. DAVID KAUFMAN
Seattle, Nov. 13, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Israel's Conditional Yes" (editorial, Nov. 12): What happened to the spirit of Wye? The sad conclusion is that there is a "spirit" of an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians only when it comes to Israeli obligations. Only the Israelis are castigated for not fulfilling the agreement's unwritten "spirit." However, if the Palestinians don't have to fulfill the "spirit" of the agreement, then what about previous written commitments? Should they be held accountable?

The only way to make the Palestinians accountable is to fulfill the re-

quest by the Israeli Cabinet to add a stipulation that a majority of the Palestinian Council vote to strike clauses from the Palestinian covenant calling for the destruction of Israel. RON REMBA
Sunnyvale, Calif., Nov. 12, 1998

To the Editor:

I was pleased to read that George Tenet, the Director of Central Intelligence, had enough concern for the American people and the American intelligence community to argue against the release of Jonathan J. Pollard, a convicted spy for Israel (front page, Nov. 11). The fact that Mr. Tenet was willing to resign his post if President Clinton gave in to the inappropriate demand by the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, that Mr. Pollard be released is evidence of Mr. Tenet's commitment to maintaining the credibility and morale of the American intelligence community.

We can all hope for a just and lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors without the intrusion of divisive issues between Israel and its greatest ally. JOHN CAFFEY
Levittown, N.Y., Nov. 11, 1998

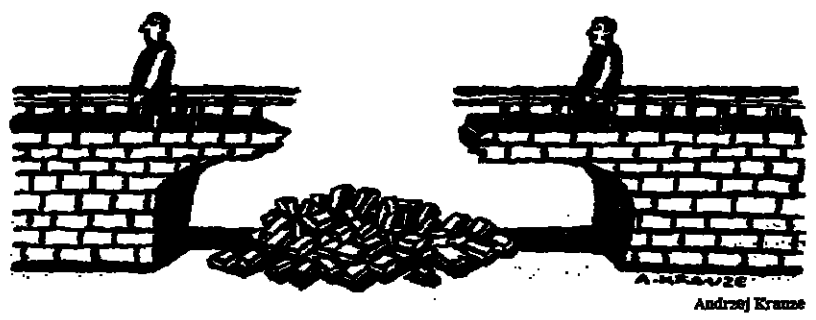
To the Editor:

Re "C.I.A. Chief Vowed to Quit if Clinton Freed Israeli Spy" (front page, Nov. 11): United States intelligence and law enforcement circles are right to dismiss the fact that Jonathan J. Pollard acted on behalf of a friendly nation as reason to treat him as a special case.

In fact, Mr. Pollard's actions also harmed another American ally. Satellite intelligence provided by Mr. Pollard was used in a 1985 Israeli bombing raid on Borj Cedria, near Tunis, that caused several dozen casualties involving Tunisian civilians who had no stake in an Israeli-Palestinian fight.

Neither the Reagan Administration nor the Israeli Government issued an apology to Tunisia for violating its sovereignty and killing its citizens. ALI HOUSSA
Ithaca, N.Y., Nov. 11, 1998

The writer is a bibliographer of Middle East and Islamic Studies, Cornell University.



German Nazism Was No 'Aberration'

To the Editor:

At the opening of the new American Academy in Berlin, Henry A. Kissinger, the former United States Secretary of State, said that Hitler's rule was "an aberration, but not an organic aspect of German society" (news article, Nov. 12). An "aberration" implies that Nazism came out of nowhere and disappeared after 1945. But anti-Semitism was virulent in 19th-century Germany.

Likewise, the Nazi ideal of a hierarchical, homogeneous, corporate state did not suddenly occur to Hitler. The ideas for such a society can be found in the writings of important German thinkers well into the modern era. ELLIOT NEAMAN
San Francisco, Nov. 12, 1998

The writer is an assistant professor of history, University of San Francisco.

To the Editor:

How do we honor the memories of those killed in the Holocaust without creating hostility toward descendants of the perpetrators (news article, Nov. 12)? As Jews we are given the responsibility to "never forget," but

who can blame a German who was not alive during World War II for bristling at being forced to look at himself as the descendant of genocidal murderers?

Anti-Semitism is escalating less than 60 years after most of European Jewry was annihilated. We can only hope that understanding on both sides will temper resentment and that the Jewish mantra of "never forget" will not collide with the equally important "never again." DAVID BAR KATZ
New York, Nov. 12, 1998

Arabs in 'The Siege'

To the Editor:

Edward Zwick (Op-Ed, Nov. 10) just doesn't understand the criticisms of his film "The Siege." He depicts Arabs and Muslims in the United States as a homogenous mass among whom lurk, indistinguishable, the mad bombers. Furthermore, the movie makes a clear and direct link between Arab cultures, Islamic religious practices and terrorism. Images evocative of traditional Arab cultures are shot, edited and set to music in a manner designed to evoke an ominous, threatening and alien environment.

Also, Arab-Americans are repeatedly referred to as "these people." Even when they are incarcerated, they do not elicit any sympathy because they all look alike and differ from the rest of "us." The film is packed with stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims as violent, unscrupulous and, above all, alien. In defending his film, Mr. Zwick casts us as an insecure "new immigrant group." He apparently does not know of our long presence in and contributions to this society. HALA MAKSOUD
President, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
Washington, Nov. 13, 1998

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City's Perverse Welfare Policy

To the Editor:

New York City's diversion of needy families from food stamps, Medicaid and welfare is part of a sweeping effort to deny low-income people services to which they are entitled by law and which they need to become self-sufficient (editorial, Nov. 12). For example, families that seek emergency housing are routinely denied admittance to the shelters and forced back into overcrowded, unsafe dwellings or sent to the city's emergency assistance unit, where families sleep on office floors.

Despite his rhetoric about breaking the "culture of dependency," Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani repeatedly fails to allow families to take the careful, deliberate steps shown to be the only route out of poverty. FREDERICK SHACK
New York, Nov. 12, 1998

The writer is president of the Tier II Coalition, a nonprofit housing group.

To the Editor:

You say Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani boasts of getting people off the welfare rolls (editorial, Nov. 12). It is not clear, however, whether these people are finding jobs. In fact, the Giuliani administration is reluctant to release figures, so determining the truth is difficult.

Even if this rosy view were true, does a job promise a living wage? Of American families classified as poor in 1997, 66 percent had at least one member working full time. Also, what will happen to welfare recipients in New York City when the inevitable economic downturn arrives?

Mayor Giuliani should concentrate less on creating a positive spin and more on creating jobs with livable wages. CRAIG BUTLER
New York, Nov. 12, 1998

The writer is executive director of the Business, Labor and Community Coalition of New York.

To the Editor:

Why hold off giving a welfare applicant an application for food stamps or Medicaid (editorial, Nov. 12)? Do we not have unintentional delay enough in our response to the needs of people to discourage the applicant who is not truly in need? Or do we presume that most welfare applicants are looking for a free lunch?

Welfare is a necessary accommodation for the weaknesses in our economic, social and personal lives. It does not have to be a trap. It does not need delays to erode its existence. It will recede when we remedy our economic, social and personal weaknesses: a challenge that will require more creative strategies than postponement. FRANCESCA SULLIVAN
Brooklyn, Nov. 13, 1998

The writer is a former Human Resources Administration official.

The Real Ally McBeal?

To the Editor:

With the regularity with which Maureen Dowd referred to "Ally McBeal" last year, and then most recently in her column of Nov. 11 ("Of Frogs and News"), we can happily be assured that Ms. Dowd is one of our most devoted fans. Still, over the past year I've felt a tinge of concern for Ms. Dowd's apparent loneliness. She continues to refer to Ally as if Ally were a real person. Anyone who has watched the show so obsessively knows not only that Ally McBeal is an imaginary character and not an imaginary friend, but also that the show is a comedy and not a political soapbox.

Also, Ms. Dowd's continued complaints about Ally's fitness as a feminist spokeswoman and the length of her skirts certainly don't represent the views of all McBeal devotees, who find our frivolous escapades, well, frivolous.

That Ms. Dowd appears to be entertained by our political leaders and to be led by our entertainers prompts me to say, paraphrasing what the great feminist icon and sometimes-imaginary character Gypsy Rose Lee once sang:

"Ms. Dowd, let us entertain you!" GREG GERMANN
Los Angeles, Nov. 13, 1998

The writer plays the imaginary character Richard Fish, the head of Ally's imaginary law firm.

Red Cross and Mitch

To the Editor:

Richard M. Walden (Op-Ed, Nov. 12) criticizes the American Red Cross's relief efforts in response to Hurricane Mitch. The American Red Cross has already shipped 20 tons of chemicals to purify 15 million gallons of water, as well as 40,000 pounds of rice, beans, medicines, cleanup supplies and comfort kits.

A shipment of blankets and hygiene kits is also en route to Honduras and Nicaragua. Several more plane loads of such relief supplies will arrive in the days and weeks ahead.

Most important, beyond using the cash contributions of Americans to purchase such supplies, the American Red Cross has secured the infrastructure necessary to insure that those goods are promptly delivered to those in need. While we are helping those who are suffering in Central America, we continue to do the same for victims of Hurricane Georges. MATT BRANAM
Chief Operating Officer
American Red Cross
Washington, Nov. 13, 1998

Liberties
MAUREEN DOWD

The Pink-Poodle Blues

WASHINGTON
New York is a tough town. The planet's most famous intern was cruelly reminded of that as she stormed around tony Manhattan stores and restaurants last week.

The New York Daily News, which featured a photo of Ms. Lewinsky looking like an upscale bag lady and a detailed map of her shopping and eating tour, chronicled her tantrums with restaurant workers, other diners and photographers, and her zesty feasts on leg of lamb and polenta with chocolate sauce.

Poor girl. No wonder she's in a bad humor. Her commercial window of opportunity is slamming shut. The nation, once glued to the soap opera of Monica and Bill, has canceled the show. Paula Jones has settled. The Republicans have been afflicted with a sudden case of realism. And the other "high heel," as commentators dubbed former White House volunteer Kathleen Willey, apparently won't be dropping.

Monica must be in a panic to squeeze the last drop of profit from this sordid tale. After Ken Starr wrote up her story so voluminously and with such bodice-ripping fervor, Monica and her mother realized with alarm that they had been scooped. Surely Marcia Lewis, the author of "The Private Lives of the Three Tenors," knows you can't write a tell-all after all has been told.

Ms. Lewinsky was one of the big losers in the election. She lost her chance to be Oliver North and rivet the country to a Congressional hearing. So now all she has to sell is her voice. It is all that hasn't been heard. It is a voice that men say they find alluring, not the ditzy Valley Girl voice the world is expecting.

Monica wants to unburden herself to Barbara Walters, to cloak herself in

A lot of shopping.

the legitimacy of the interviewer, to stars and kings. But then she would have to sell an interview overseas to make money. There are lawyers to be paid, not to mention Bloomingdale's, Ann Taylor, Bergdorf's and personal trainers.

She has also been mulling an offer from Fox, a multimillion-dollar package deal that would include a book, an interview and a made-for-TV movie.

It seems to me that Monica's best bet to upgrade her image — from President-chasing vixen to victim caught between a warring prosecutor and President — is clearly the made-for-TV movie about the made-for-TV scandal.

A good title for the movie might be the line that Lucianne Goldberg used last week to describe the taped conversations between Monica and Linda Tripp: "A lot of pain, a lot of anguish and a lot of shopping."

Why settle for Shannen Doherty or Tiffani-Amber Thiessen when Monica could play Monica? (This idea apparently came up in passing with the Fox folks.) Monica, after all, did win a sixth-grade talent contest for her dancing and singing. She had a speaking part in "The Music Man" in high school and was voted "Most Likely to Have Her Name in Lights."

Her baby diva behavior in New York, and the new Vanity Fair featuring outtakes from her Herb Ritsch epiphany in Malibu, confirm that a star is aching to be born. Now comes Ms. Lewinsky in powder-blue chignon cuddling a poodle that has been dyed pink wearing a rhinestone collar. (The poodle, not Ms. Lewinsky.)

Who else can bring the right nuance to the line readings of "Blah, blah, blah," "Da, da, da," much less, "I never expected to fall in love with the President."

And who better to play the stage mother than the stage mother herself?

They should use, as a template, the unforgettable made-for-TV movie, "Tears and Laughter: the Joan and Melissa Rivers Story," which starred Joan and her daughter somewhat convincingly playing themselves.

Monica and Marcia starring as themselves would not only be ratings camp. It would be cathartic for the mantrapping mother-daughter team.

Only Ms. Lewis could do justice to the scene where she emerges from her pummeling by Starr prosecutors, with a wheelchair at the ready, ashen-faced, showing her best side.

Who but the real mother could bring the controlled fury necessary to pull off the crucial party scene where she confronts Evelyn Lieberman, the White House deputy chief of staff charged with keeping noble babes out of Bill Clinton's sight line, and demands that her daughter be transferred back from her Pentagon Siberia to the President-trapping zone of the White House — her rightful territory?

When politics becomes entertainment, who needs actors?



The Next Superweapon: Panic

By Richard Danzig

WASHINGTON
Once again we have found it necessary to call on our armed forces to limit the power and ambition of Saddam Hussein's military machine. Behind the scenes, a longer term struggle is also beginning. It is so novel, it warrants what all fresh military ideas need — a new acronym. My proposed acronym is NEW — nonexplosive warfare.

Until now, explosive weapons have captured the attention of the military when it plans battles and of civilian agencies when they worry about the protection of airports, airplanes and government buildings. But the nation is under-protected against weapons that don't explode. Of particular concern are those that use biological agents or attack computer systems.

These NEW weapons can often be countered or circumvented on the battlefield. But if used against civilians they can cause widespread disruption, panic and (in the case of biological-weaponry) deaths that could be counted in the hundreds of thousands. While military forces have protective clothing, encrypted systems and other barriers to biological and information attack, civilians are almost nakedly exposed.

My purpose here is not to lay out specific plans for fighting such attacks or to talk about how much money such a defense would cost. My concern now is to identify the common attributes of the NEW weapons, so we understand the task at hand and can limit the damage these weapons can do.

Biological attacks disseminate bacteria, viruses or toxins to cause debilitating or fatal illness among those who breathe them, drink them or absorb them through the skin. Weapons of this kind are extraordinarily potent: a few pounds of anthrax dispersed in city air could kill a million people. An infectious agent like smallpox can induce a chain reaction with unending effects.

A single computer virus, like its biological equivalent, can also have widespread and proliferating effects. Whether built into software or introduced into a network later, a computer virus can disable or distort the communication networks and other systems upon which military and civilian life depend.

Consider the novel, numerous and dangerous attributes of these weapons. Their use will not be thwarted by armies or physical barricades. Neither their production nor their delivery requires large, expensive or visible systems. Potent biological weapons can be made in a room and held in a vat; a single leased airplane

The best defense might be to prepare for the aftermath.

dispersing a biological agent can kill more people than died worldwide in any month of World War II. The forces of cyberspace can be marshaled on a desk and stored on a disk; a single computer can launch an information attack.

The knowledge, skills and materials needed to stage these actions are rather readily obtained, even by small groups or individuals. With the NEW weapons, the power to wage war is no longer monopolized by nation-states.

While explosive weapons and their delivery systems take decades to create, the NEW weapons multiply in variety and potency with the speed that characterizes the biotechnology and software industries from which they stem. Defenses typically cannot

Richard Danzig will be sworn in tomorrow as Secretary of the Navy.

keep pace with offenses that are so easily varied and proliferated.

With nonexplosive weapons it may be difficult to tell if an incident is an act of war, the deed of a small terrorist group, a simple crime or a natural occurrence. This makes retaliation difficult.

Because deterrence depends on a credible ability and will to retaliate,

Get ready for bioweapons and computer attacks.

our military will not be as effective in suppressing these attacks as it has been in discouraging other forms of warfare.

The military establishment does not easily come to grips with these new issues. The traditional business of warfare is explosive weaponry. Battlefields are the places where militaries engage each other. For their part, our civilian authorities are not used to looking upon their domains as battlefields. They are not easily coordinated with one another and with the Defense Department. We are, in short, ill positioned for coping with the NEW weapons, especially if they are used against our civilians.

Attacks on civilians may be valued by our enemies not so much for their physical effects as for their psychological consequences. Though frequently labeled "weapons of mass destruction," the NEW weapons are really "weapons of mass disruption." They aren't likely to be aimed to cause death and destruction so much as disarray and despair. This provides an important clue to countering them.

Certainly we should do what we can to thwart and to insulate ourselves from these attacks. We should try to understand the psychology and structure of terrorist groups and step up our intelligence efforts to monitor and infiltrate groups that might use these weapons.

But biological attacks can be too easily mounted against too many exposed targets for us to insulate society completely. Similarly, our reliance on information systems will persistently outrun our ability to protect these networks completely. Through prevention and deterrence are worth investing in, we ought to assume that successful attacks will occur.

Our special efforts should be in managing the consequences of such warfare. We can reduce its effects by educating medical personnel, preparing response plans and stockpiling antibiotics. Legislation passed by Congress in 1996 finances several initiatives, led by the Defense and Justice Departments, to train local "first responders" to deal with biological and chemical attacks. President Clinton has shown a personal interest and has appointed a White House coordinator to intensify these efforts.

The consequences of information attacks can be reduced by giving our computer systems redundancy and making sure they are compartmentalized so that, when they are successfully attacked, their failure is "graceful" rather than catastrophic. Data can be camouflaged to confuse intruders, tagged and encoded so that manipulation can be detected.

Above all, we should stop thinking and organizing in terms of anachronistic distinctions between "here" and "abroad," between "military" and "civilian," among "crime," "war" and "natural occurrence." Nonexplosive weapons erode all such boundaries.

It is not likely that our response to a biological threat against, say, Denver would or should be limited to the Denver Police Department, or even

the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Nor, in protecting our military forces deployed abroad, could we ignore the threats against civilians in the countries that are host to them.

This does not require the militarization of America. The protections guaranteed in the Constitution against arrest and investigation can remain strong. This would not require large investments in civil defenses, like bomb shelters, that are of use only in an attack. Precisely because natural illnesses and computer viruses challenge our everyday welfare, preparations for NEW attacks buy us everyday benefits.

To maintain our security we must understand and address our vulnerability to nonexplosive weapons, at home and abroad. We have to learn not only how to prevent and deter this new warfare, but also how to manage its consequences. Only through a new union of our public health, police and military resources can we hope to deal with this dangerous threat.

Richard Danzig is a senior advisor at the RAND Corporation.

In America
BOB HERBERT

A Child's 'Confession'

Lacresha Murray is a 14-year-old prisoner at the Giddings State Home and School in Giddings, Tex., about 60 miles east of Austin, the state capital. She is serving a term of 25 years after being found guilty in 1986 of criminally negligent homicide and injury to a child in the death of a 2-year-old girl named Jayla Belton.

The case was a local sensation. Excited prosecutors and other law-enforcement officials stumbled over one another in their rush to portray Lacresha, just 11 years old, as a juvenile monster, a homicidal maniac who attacked Jayla and inflicted a savage beating, eventually breaking four of her ribs and rupturing her liver.

The medical examiner said the injuries were like those that might result if a person went through the windshield in a high-speed car accident. Prosecutors referred to Lacresha in private as "La Creature."

Lacresha was convicted twice (the first verdict was overturned), but a close look at the case shows that she was the victim of a colossal miscarriage of justice. She remains trapped in a Texas-sized nightmare, a naïve child with learning difficulties who was tricked into signing a confession she could barely read and surely didn't understand.

Prosecutors ignored evidence that Jayla had long been the victim of child abuse. There was no legitimate evidence against Lacresha. None. No witnesses, no forensic evidence — not so much as a drop of blood or a speck of body fluid of any kind. Twenty or more police officers scoured the premises where she supposedly killed the child. They found nothing.

Jayla had been dropped off on the morning of May 24, 1986, at a small, one-family house in Austin where Lacresha lived with three siblings and their grandparents, R.L. and Shirley Murray. Ms. Murray provided day care for Jayla and a number of other children. But Jayla's mother, Judy Belton, and her boyfriend, Derrick Shaw, had been told not to bring the child on May 24 because Ms. Murray would be away. Mr. Shaw dropped the baby off anyway.

According to the Murrays and a number of people who visited the house that day, Jayla was clearly ill. She was listless, refused to eat, perspired profusely and was vomiting. In the early evening, the Murrays said, Lacresha noticed that the baby was "shaking real bad." In fact, the child had gone into convulsions.

R.L. Murray and Lacresha rushed the child to a hospital, but frantic

efforts to save her failed.

Enter the Austin police. The medical examiner is reported to have told investigators that no one could survive more than 15 minutes with a ruptured liver. The investigators, still without a suspect, took that to mean there was a good chance that the last person seen with the child was the killer. Lacresha had carried Jayla into the hospital. The cops zeroed in on her.

Lacresha was kept away from her family for four days and finally was subjected to a lengthy police interrogation, without the benefit of a lawyer.

Coerced at 11 and sent to prison.

An officer ran through what was surely to her an incomprehensible reading of her rights, after which he said: "You've heard them before, on TV shows probably, huh?"

Lacresha insisted she had done nothing harmful to Jayla. "Why would I want to hurt a child?" she asked.

The cops told her that a doctor, "with over 20 years of experience," had said the baby died at precisely the time that Lacresha said she noticed the baby was shaking.

"I didn't do nothing," Lacresha replied. "I promise to God."

The interrogation was a travesty. Unable to shake her protestations of innocence, the police finally resorted to asking if it were at least "possible" that Lacresha had dropped the baby, or even kicked her.

She was told, "We're going to stay here until you tell us the truth."

Isolated and without a lawyer's help, Lacresha eventually said that the suggestions made by the interrogators were possible, even "probable." She developed a fantastic scenario that could in no way account for the injuries Jayla suffered. But it was enough for the police.

A confession was typed up. Lacresha was asked, "Can you read pretty good?"

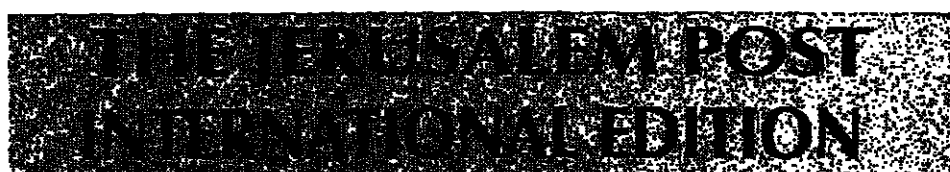
"No," she said, "but I try hard." As she read over her "confession," Lacresha asked the officers, "What's that word? Home-a-seed?"

When she was told that the word was "homicide," she asked, "What's that?"

No one answered.

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THE ARTS

Widow of Lennon, Guardian of the Lennon Myth

By ALLAN KOZINN

At a glance, the just released four-CD "John Lennon Anthology" looks very much like an ambitious collector's trawl. Lavishly packaged and copiously annotated, this "Anthology" (Capitol) brims with studio outtakes, concert performances, private composing tapes and assorted spoken bits — 94 selections in all. The thriving bootleg market has proved that the Beatles, collectively and individually, have a following that voraciously snaps up material of this kind.

But satisfying the quasi-musicological obsessions of collectors is not the primary purpose of this set. "Anthology," compiled by Yoko Ono, Lennon's widow, is less a freestanding record release than an installment in a continuing multimedia biography. It joins a mountain of CD's, videotapes, material for film documentaries and radio series, picture books, collections of Lennon's writings and art works — that Ms. Ono has released, overseen or sanctioned since Lennon was murdered on Dec. 8, 1980.

This body of posthumously released work is an object lesson in the building, polishing and maintenance of the myth that envelopes a cultural icon. Outside the world of pop music, one sees similar treatment accorded to Lennon's neighbor at the Dakota apartments, Leonard Bernstein. Soon after Bernstein's death in 1990, his children and his production company, Amberson, began arranging commemorative concerts and documentaries, reissuing classic television appearances and encouraging performances of newly published, authoritative editions of his works. An official Web site and a newsletter keep the world abreast of these developments.

Many pop stars fare less well. Since the death of Elvis Presley in 1977, RCA has reissued his recordings by the boxful, the Postal Service has memorialized him on a stamp, and there have been several books and documentaries, not all of them sympathetic. But he left no legacy of self-defining interviews, and with no one seeing to his posthumous image, he has become an amorphous figure — an overdeveloped larynx attached to an increasingly dissolute body.

On Lennon's behalf, Ms. Ono has projected a carefully defined picture of a musician, peace campaigner, husband and father, a man with a complex temperament and an equally complex sense of humor.

In her liner notes for the "Anthology," in fact, Ms. Ono begins with an almost novelistic physical description: "In person, John was a much more attractive man than the one you saw in photos and films. He had very fair, delicate skin and soft, sandy hair with a touch of red in it when the light hit it a certain way." Then, after describing the moles on his forehead, the gracefulness with which he carried himself, and his personal magnetism, she adds: "His slumping, clowning and acting the entertainer was just a kind of play acting he enjoyed. But it was obvious to anybody around him that he was actually a very heavy dude: not a prince, but a king."

This is hagiography, certainly; yet Ms. Ono pointedly avoids making Lennon into a plaster saint. Even if she were so inclined, his life was too thoroughly documented for that, and doubtless Lennon would have loathed the idea. So her notes discuss bad times as well as good, and touch on his angry, stubborn, indiscreet and remarkably inconsiderate sides. She describes, for example, an incident in which Lennon had sex with another woman at a party while Ms. Ono and the other guests waited in the next room. Telling that story

follows a principle of myth-making that goes back to ancient times: an iconic figure's flaws put his virtues in high relief.

Granted, as popular culture icons go, Ms. Ono has plenty to work with: Lennon's work with the Beatles guarantees him a constituency. But it is Lennon's post-Beatles work that Ms. Ono is most vigorously promoting, and the audience for that has always been shakier, because the

Yoko Ono oversees a new four-CD anthology.

work itself was uneven. At its worst — the batch of topical broadsides that made up the "Sometime in New York City" double album — it is workaday and expendable. Even Lennon regarded it that way. His best music, though, is incisive, abrasive and hard-hitting.

Many of the songs on his best albums, "Plastic Ono Band," "Imagine" and "Double Fantasy," are also intensely personal. It is not lost on Ms. Ono that for the personal songs to live, listeners must remain curious about the circumstances that led Lennon to write them. Hence the constant stoking of the Lennon story: if either his music or myth were not constantly in the public eye and ear, his post-Beatles music might fade into 1970's oldiedom.

This is why Ms. Ono has not opposed the use of Lennon's music and image in advertisements, to the chagrin of Lennon's most ardent and idealistic fans. Hearing him sing "Revolution" in a Nike ad or seeing him portrayed, along with Einstein, Gandhi and Bob Dylan, in Apple Computer's "Think Different" paragon, serves a purpose beyond the hawking of someone else's product.

Lennon himself was a champion-ship-level promoter of his work and ideas. When world peace became his pet project, in 1969, he turned his honeymoon with Ms. Ono into a Bed-In for Peace, news media invited. To reporters who asked why, he said that since the news media were reporting on his marriage anyway, he might as well use the occasion to get his message out. Thereafter, he periodically promoted his albums with interviews that were so expansive that several were published as books, in question-answer form.

Lennon's volubility on a range of issues, and his uncanny ability to tap into the Zeitgeist made him a spokesman for his generation. But his pronouncements and his penchant for elaborate self-explanation have been equally useful in death: however much has been written about him, his image is now not radically different from what it was during his life.

Still, images of the famous are rarely permanently fixed. As time passes and biographers a generation or two removed take up the story, the focus inevitably shifts. Even now, Ms. Ono is hardly the only shaper of Lennon's myth. A raft of insiders has weighed in with books, among them Lennon's sister (Julia Baird's "John Lennon: My Brother"), his closest childhood friend (Pete Shotton's "John Lennon in My Life"), his lover during an 18-month separation from Ms. Ono in the early 1970's (May Pang's "Loving John"), his tarot card reader (John Green's "Dakota Days") and two of his personal assistants (Anthony Fawcett's "One Day at a Time" and Frederic Seaman's "Last Days of John Lennon"). Independent biographies have



John Lennon has been the subject of many retrospective projects since he was murdered in 1980 — What will "Anthology" add to the story?

supported the piano. The four disks divide Lennon's work along mostly chronological lines, beginning with sessions recorded in England soon after the Beatles' breakup, then moving through the heavily political New York years, the "lost weekend," as Lennon called his separation from Ms. Ono, and a group of recordings made in 1979 and 1980, as he prepared to return to public life after five reclusive years. (For non-archivists, most of the best material is included on a highlights disk, "Wonsaponatime.")

What does "Anthology" add to the Lennon story? Breadth of detail and sharpness of focus, mainly. We've known since the Beatles' first news conferences that Lennon had a quick wit, but here a selection of parodies (several of which skewer Mr. Dylan) offer a more private view of how Lennon's humor functioned. A series of alternately jokey and tense exchanges with the producer Phil Spector, recorded during the sessions for the 1975 "Rock and Roll" album, convey the ambiguities in that peculiar relationship.

One of the unreleased songs, "Serve Yourself," eviscerates the born-again religious sentiments of Mr. Dylan's "Gotta Serve Somebody." Given the number of comparatively tame, expletive-free versions of this song available on bootlegs, it is striking that Ms. Ono has released this one, by far the best, but also the harshest and most cutting version Lennon recorded.

Also among the home tapes are Lennon's unadorned recording of "Real Love," a song the other former Beatles fleshed out for their own "Anthology," and "Life Begins at 40," a country tune that was one of several here that Lennon wrote for Ringo Starr. The studio outtakes, along with some shaky early run-throughs, include a seemingly inebriated Lennon doing his version of the Ronettes classic "Be My Baby," a discarded take of "I'm Losing You" with Cheap Trick as Lennon's backing band, and a lovely account of "Imagine," in which a harmonium

supports the piano.

The four disks divide Lennon's work along mostly chronological lines, beginning with sessions recorded in England soon after the Beatles' breakup, then moving through the heavily political New York years, the "lost weekend," as Lennon called his separation from Ms. Ono, and a group of recordings made in 1979 and 1980, as he prepared to return to public life after five reclusive years. (For non-archivists, most of the best material is included on a highlights disk, "Wonsaponatime.")

This will not be Ms. Ono's last word on Lennon. There is a sufficient supply of outtakes and home recordings — some more interesting than those included here — to draw on for future releases. There is also some unreleased performance video, and Ms. Ono recently signed a contract to tell their story (again) in a film. One hopes, though, that she is also thinking in grander terms. However unvarnished her portrait of Lennon may be, so long as it remains the official portrait, there will always be questions about its completeness.

There was talk, a decade ago, of a

Lennon museum, a rock star's version of a Presidential library, where researchers would have access to correspondence, recordings and other memorabilia. Ms. Ono must at some point loosen her hold on this material, and when she does — when biographers have these resources at their disposal — the Lennon myth will take on a life independent of her. It will still be an interpreted myth, of course: biographers decide what to include and what to leave out, just as Ms. Ono has. But distance, emotional and temporal, often brings clarity.

ON YOUR MARK

By ROBERT H. WOLFE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Make literary changes
- 6 Strip on the Mediterranean
- 10 Gov. Bush of Florida
- 13 One of about 2,400,000 in the United States
- 18 Isn't just given
- 19 Was in the hole
- 20 Instrument, in jazz lingo
- 21 More than whimper
- 22 Medical resident of 60's TV
- 24 Rapa — (Easter Island)
- 25 Fruitlessly
- 26 Café American visitor
- 27 "Later"
- 28 Computer —
- 30 Run at the curb
- 31 Honey
- 32 Vaulters' landing places
- 33 Charge with a new responsibility
- 35 Stooges, at times
- 37 Make a denial
- 41 Antiquity, in antiquity
- 43 What's more
- 44 Millionths of a meter
- 45 She played Julie in "Julie," 1956
- 46 Ploy
- 48 Suffuses
- 49 Put on a pedestal
- 51 Serves
- 52 Ploy
- 53 Abuses the throne
- 54 "La vita nuova" writer
- 55 Kind of engineer
- 56 It's a cover-up
- 57 Some nouns: Abbr.
- 58 Kelly McGillis's debut film, 1983
- 59 Diagnostic proc.
- 60 Furies
- 61 E-mail option
- 62 Author Sinclair
- 63 Service stations?
- 64 Burlesque
- 65 Hanging loose
- 66 Marauds
- 67 Enemy-winning Tyson
- 69 Camp activity
- 70 "Uncle Vanya" role
- 71 Muslim generals
- 72 Natural neckwear
- 73 Flattens
- 74 #1 hit of 1966
- 75 Deli hanger
- 76 Stay dry
- 77 Fool
- 78 They may be split
- 79 Be visibly elated
- 80 Deadly nerve gas
- 81 Leader in Israel
- 82 Bust — (laugh uproariously)
- 83 Household pest

DOWN

- 2 "Harlem Nocturne" composer Hagen
- 3 #1 hit for the Chordettes
- 4 Capital since 1923
- 5 — particle
- 6 Father of modern rocketry
- 7 Looks for
- 8 There are two per hundred
- 9 Fruity drinks
- 10 Novel published under the alias Currer Bell
- 11 Growing population areas
- 12 American University locale
- 13 Primogeniture beneficiary
- 14 Mahalia Jackson autobiography
- 15 "— no idea!"
- 16 Drudgery
- 17 Grind, maybe
- 21 Flight engineers?
- 23 Speaks elegiacally
- 29 "— quit" (ultimatum)
- 34 Biblical witch's home
- 36 Padded envelope
- 37 Attends as a visitor, with "on"
- 38 Voice lesson topic
- 39 S and M
- 40 Sugar suffixes
- 41 "By gosh!"
- 42 Hot stuff
- 43 Purple dyes
- 47 Touch
- 48 Buyoffs
- 49 Big name in frozen vegetables
- 50 "Of course!"
- 52 Torpedo, in British slang
- 55 Baseball's Flood and others
- 56 Holds off
- 59 Democracy since 1937
- 60 Lift
- 61 Fur resembling beaver
- 62 — Park, Calif.
- 63 Ark's first disembarker

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

- 64 Anticipatory exclamation
- 68 L'Enfant Plaza designer
- 69 Reprimand
- 70 City founded by Harald III
- 71 Loch —
- 72 Seven up, e.g.
- 73 "It's —!"
- 75 Long Island university
- 77 Jeweler Pierre and family
- 78 Horned lizard, e.g.
- 82 Hagfish relative
- 85 Worst
- 86 LAX letters
- 87 Get one's head together?
- 88 Environmentalists' magazine
- 89 Piddling
- 91 December forecast
- 93 Gusses (up)
- 94 That's a wrap!
- 95 Deepened
- 96 Helen's mother
- 97 They may be against you
- 99 Goes on
- 102 Part of a name
- 105 Magic org.



Yoko Ono at a recent exhibition of her art work in Brazil — Offering a carefully defined picture of Lennon.

سكرا من الاربع

BUSINESS & FINANCE

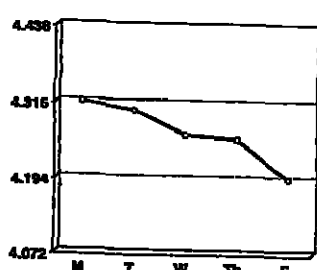
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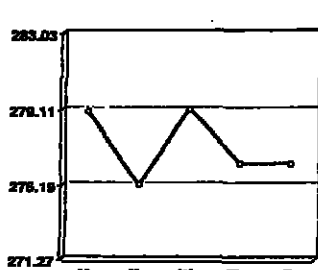
MARKETS

in brief

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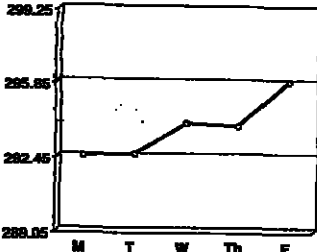


MAOF INDEX



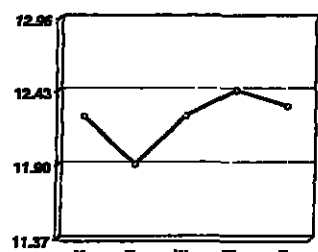
GOLD

\$ per ounce

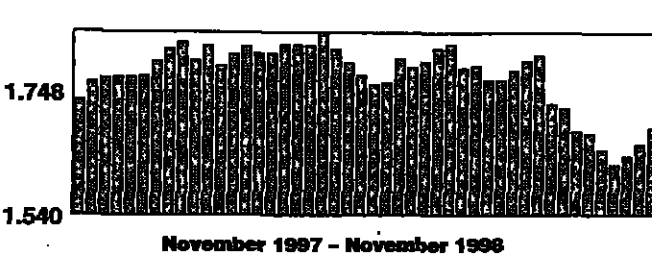


OIL

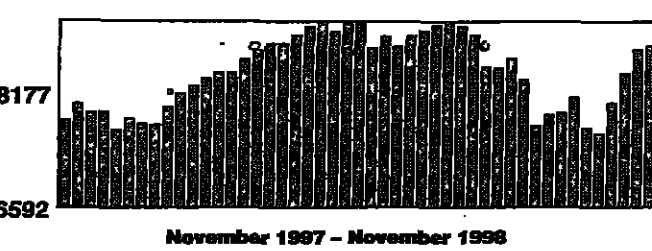
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



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Evergreen investors meeting today

More than 800 investors, investment managers, analysts, and bankers from all over the world are here today for the fourth Technology Conference held by Robertson Stephens Evergreen. The two-day conference at the Hilton Hotel in Tel Aviv will act as a showcase for about 100 Israeli high-tech companies ranging from market leaders to small and promising start-ups. The companies will each give a 20 minute presentation. *Nicky Blackburn*

Cellcom net up 49%

Cellcom reported a third-quarter net profit of NIS 87 million. President and CEO Ya'acov Perry said gross profits for the quarter were the largest since the company was established, and that net profit since the beginning of the year was NIS 361m. - a 49% rise over the same period in 1997. Revenues during the third quarter were NIS 696m. - a 21% rise over last year. During the last three months, the company acquired its millionth customer and invested NIS 140m. in improving customer service and digital infrastructure. *Judy Siegel*

Hapoalim launches offshore fund for foreigners

Bank Hapoalim yesterday announced the creation of a new offshore mutual fund designed for foreign private banking customers. The Hapoalim Balanced Fund will be managed by US investment house Goldman Sachs. It will specialize in the US market and will be based on equity and fixed income, devoting up to 65% to stocks and no less than 25% to bonds. The bank said it intends to launch a series of new funds for foreigners, including one specializing in the European market. The funds are aimed at attracting investors who benefit from the tax advantages of offshore funds. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

July-September venture capital hits all-time-high at \$159m.

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Despite global financial turmoil and the slowdown elsewhere in the economy, venture-capital investment in the local high-tech sector rose in the third quarter to an all-time high of \$159 million, according to the Money Tree Survey published yesterday.

The survey, conducted by accounting firm Price, Waterhouse, Coopers, Kesselman & Kesselman, shows that investment by venture capital funds rose 7 percent when compared to the same quarter a year ago and by 32% from the second quarter of the year.

The survey, which was based on

data supplied by 41 local venture capital funds and three US-based investment institutions, indicates that overall the development in the local market are similar to those taking place in the US market, where investments rose 1% to a new high of \$3.77 billion.

Aviv Shoham, a high-tech consultant at Kesselman, said that the rise in investment is partly due to mature companies' difficulties in raising money by going public, which in turn compelled them to raise more capital from venture capitalists. This can be seen by the fact that more companies needed a third round of financing from VC funds with the total sum raised in

this round rising in the third quarter to \$46m. compared with \$39m. in the whole of 1997.

In addition, part of the deals which were completed in the third quarter were finalized in the second quarter before the global financial turmoil started. According to Shoham, the effects of the economic crisis may be felt only in the fourth quarter.

The software and communication sectors continued to get the majority of investments, attracting respectively 33% and 29% of all investments compared with 39% and 25% in the US, according to the survey.

The survey shows that invest-

ments in software companies reached \$52m. representing a rise of 17% from the corresponding period and more than 300% over the second quarter.

Investment in communication companies amounted to \$46m. of which \$37m. were invested in telecommunication firms and another \$9m. in information technology.

Investments in medical equipment companies rose 60% to \$29m. representing some 18% of all investments, while computers equipment and electronics attracted 14%.

The survey also shows that investments in biotechnology, a

sector which is believed to be one of the most promising fields, remained sluggish, attracting only \$6m. or 4% of investments. Shoham said that the low interest in biotech can be attributed to the fact that large investments in this field are carried out by large investment companies, which were not considered as venture capitalist and were not included in the survey.

The report also shows that despite the fact that seed investments - financing an initial concept before a business has reached the start-up phase - rose 90% from the previous quarter to \$6.6m, the figure is still substantially lower than the \$27m. invested a year ago.

US Secretary of Commerce William Daley:

Not enough trade among Mideast neighbors

By DANNA HARMAN

Bringing together the Jordanian, Israeli, and Palestinian ministers of trade for the first time in over two years, visiting US Secretary of Commerce William Daley urged them to increase trade between their areas.

Daley said less than seven percent of Mideast trade is among states in the region and added it makes no sense that it is easier for Jordan to export to France than to the West Bank.

"Contrast that with Europe - where the markets are being unified and two-thirds of Europe's trade is with other European nations," said Daley. "Or contrast that with North America, our biggest trading partners are the neighbors - Canada and Mexico."

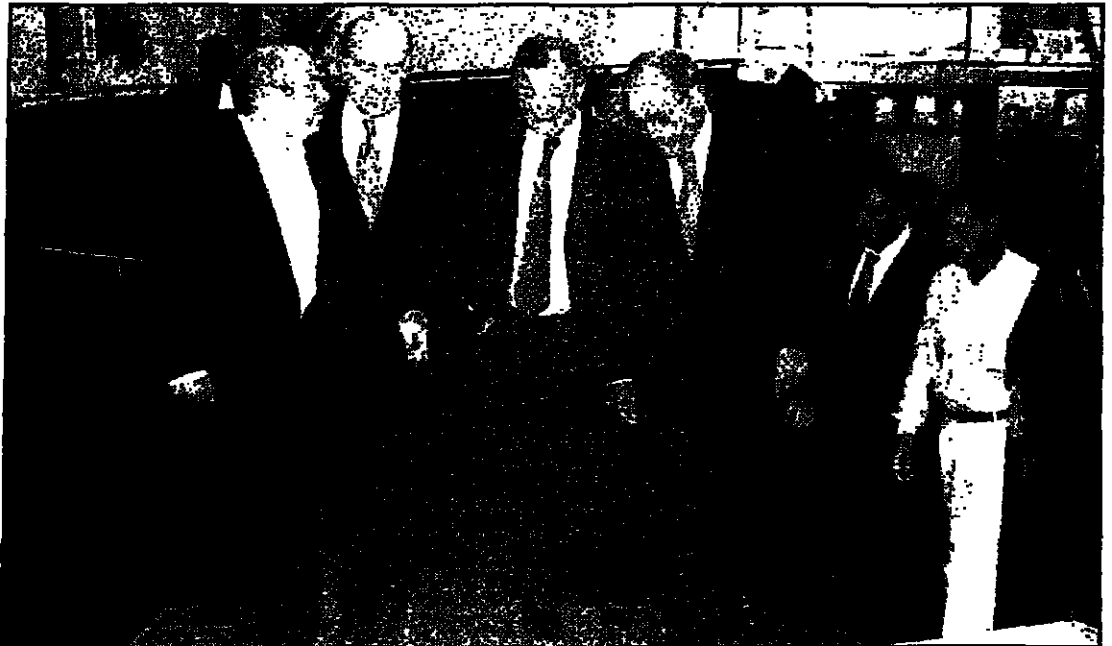
"It seems to me that there should be synergies," said Daley. "Israel exports to Western markets, but can't break in here, while the Palestinians bring to the table access to all the Arab world. One has high-tech; one has infant industries, and it seems the combination would make you more competitive."

Following a meeting with Daley, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon issued a statement calling on Jordan to implement a planned free-trade zone between the two countries and urged their business leaders to visit.

Daley, who arrived after visiting Egypt and Jordan, also held meetings with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky. In the evening, he hosted a dinner for the American Israel Chamber of Commerce in honor of high-tech firms.

Today, Daley is to meet with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and PA Minister of Industry Saidi Kruntz while in Gaza to tour the Karmi industrial park.

A US official said Daley would probably return to officially open the industrial park during US President Bill Clinton's planned visit next month. In addition, Daley said he would look into the possibility of bringing a business delegation next year.



US Commerce Secretary William Daley (second from left) walks with his colleagues (from left) Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky, PA Trade Minister Maher Misri, and Jordanian Industry Minister Mohammed Horani in Jerusalem's Laromme Hotel yesterday.

Jewelry experts upbeat despite jittery markets

By STEPHANIE NEBEHAY

GENEVA (Reuters) - Despite jittery financial markets worldwide, fine jewelry experts at major auction houses put brave faces on Geneva's annual week-long autumn sales which kick off today.

Buyers from Asia, Europe, and North America have converged on the city to seek out top quality gems at a total of nine sales, which include several private and theme collections, they say.

Mouna Ayoub, the jet-setting Lebanese former wife of Saudi businessman Nasser Rachid, is parting with 160 gems and pieces of modern silver at Christie's tonight. The auction house estimates the value of her collection at \$6 million, including \$3m-\$4m. for the star lot - the world's largest yellow dia-

mond which could set a record.

On Wednesday, Christie's is also selling 20 jewels from the estate of French actress Jacqueline Delubac, once married to playwright and actor Sacha Guitry.

Francois Curiel, president of Christie's International and director of jewelry, said he is "rather positive" - despite mixed signals from recent sales in New York and Hong Kong. "Clearly, these sales are taking place in a climate which is a bit uncertain, given the situation in Russia, the markets, and the recession in Asia. The context is less reassuring than that of six months ago," he said. "I think we are in for not too much of a disappointment."

Ayoub, a mother of five often seen in the society pages accompanied by Curiel, told the weekly *Paris Match* she needed cash for the

\$17m. cost of refurbishing *Phocae*, her 80-meter luxury yacht that used to belong to Bernard Tapie, the former French tycoon, soccer boss and cabinet minister found guilty on various counts of fraud.

In 1996, Ayoub netted \$12.1m. by selling off jewels at Christie's. At the time she said she would give part of the proceeds to US charities aiding two of her sick sons.

Her huge 112.53 carat yellow diamond mounted by the Italian jeweler Bulgari is dubbed the "Mouna Diamond." It's a fancy intense yellow diamond, recut to give it maximum color and brilliance. It is a relatively new stone which must have been mined 10 to 15 years ago in South Africa, Curiel said.

The only comparable stone is an intense yellow diamond weighing 102.7 carats which sold for 3.7 mil-

lion Swiss francs (\$3m. at the time) in May 1996, according to Curiel.

A yellow-and-white diamond necklace on which the Mouna Diamond can be suspended is estimated at \$900,000-\$1.5m.

The star lot at Christie's main jewelry sale on Wednesday is a Burmese ruby-and-diamond necklace ordered by Tsar Alexander II for his daughter, Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna, on her 1874 wedding to Alfred, duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria. The imperial work may go for \$2m.

Tomorrow, Sotheby's offers 70 jewels from a European estate, billed as the "Bird of Paradise" collection. On Thursday, it hosts a "Century of Style" sale of 20th-century European jewelry, followed by its main sale whose star lot is a ring composed of fancy colored diamonds estimated at \$1.5m-\$2m.

"Frankly it is still a difficult call, although we have had a lot of pre-sale interest from around the world, including the Far East," David Bennett, deputy chairman of Sotheby's Europe and head of its jewelry department, said.

Keter, Jordan's Century to buy Belgium's Hovac

By NICKY BLACKBURN

The nation's leading plastic manufacturer, The Keter Group, and the Century Investment Group of Jordan have signed an agreement to jointly purchase, for an undisclosed sum, a Belgian company which manufactures vacuum flasks.

The joint purchase of Belgium's Hovac, which makes flasks of various sizes for picnic and home use, promises to bring in sales of up to \$20 million for the two companies.

With this acquisition, Keter plans to launch a new division of leisure products, including hampers, water jugs, thermos bottles, and other camping goods.

The venture will integrate the marketing power of the Keter Group in Europe and the United States with the strength of Century in the Gulf countries and the Arab world.

The publicly traded Century company has invested in a number of joint ventures with both multinational and Israeli companies

such as Motorola, Tadiran, and Delta.

Keter joint venture manager Sharon Blum said the acquisition will help contribute to the growth of the Keter Group, which already has 17 international factories and distribution centers, consolidating its policy of setting up bases throughout the world.

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סניף לארבע

Hick summoned Down Under

CAIRNS, Australia (Reuters) - Graeme Hick was dramatically called up yesterday to the England Ashes tour as cover for opener Michael Atherton who has hurt his back again.

Hick, the only batsman still playing first class cricket to have scored over 100 centuries, was left out of the original tour party but named as one of three reserves in case of emergency.

That emergency has now arisen just days before the first Test against Australia starting on Friday. Hick, who was asked to stay fit during the close season, is expected to fly out today.

Atherton suffered another recurrence of his back complaint and did not bat or field yesterday as England stumbled in their second innings on the third day of the four-day match against Queensland.

At the close England were 74 for five, needing 68 runs for victory after being all out for 192 in their first innings.

Coach David Lloyd acknowledged Atherton was not certain to play in the first Test. "Getting close to the Test match we will have to be fully aware of monitoring him on a daily basis," Lloyd told reporters.

Atherton's injury added to concerns over England's opening batting after partner Mark Butcher was out on Sunday for a second-ball duck. Butcher was dismissed for two in the first innings and has now made just nine runs in five first-class innings.

Queensland, who made 209 in their first innings, were dismissed for just 124 in their second knock as batsmen on both sides struggled on a pitch on which the ball kept alarmingly low and played a large role in the fall of 17 wickets in a day.

Queensland pace bowler Michael Kasprovic did the most second innings damage, taking three for 14 in seven overs, with his three wickets coming in the space of five deliveries.

England captain Alec Stewart, who made 52 in the first innings, was one of Kasprovic's victims, falling leg before wicket for a duck to a low skidding delivery.

Kasprovic also captured the scalps of Nasser Hussain (24) and John Crawley (4).

England resumed their first innings at 182 for seven and were soon all out for 192, with Adam Dale making the most of the conditions to snare his best first-class figures of seven for 33.

Queensland, in turn, found the going tough in their second innings with Jimmy Maher (56) the only batsman to master the treacherous pitch. Darren Gough was the chief wicket-taker with three for 29.



Yevgeny Kafelnikov kept Greg Rusedski out of the ATP World Championships by winning the Kremlin Cup tournament in Moscow yesterday.

Kafelnikov beats Ivanisevic to reach ATP finals

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Defending champion and second seed Yevgeny Kafelnikov beat Goran Ivanisevic 7-6 (7-2) 7-6 (7-5) yesterday to qualify for the ATP Tour Championships finals in Hannover in nine days time.

In a rematch of the 1996 final which Ivanisevic won, the 24-year-old Russian pocketed the \$157,400 first prize as well as grabbing the last place in the eight-man Hannover field.

His triumph squeezed Greg Rusedski out of the final eight, the Briton needing Ivanisevic to win yesterday to keep his place, which was jeopardized on Saturday when he lost in the semifinals of the Stockholm Open.

"I'm very happy to win here and to qualify for Hannover," Kafelnikov told the 14,000 sell-out crowd at Moscow's Olimpiyskiy Sports Complex.

Third seed Ivanisevic, who had a 9-2 edge over Kafelnikov in their 11 previous meetings and beat him in the three-set final in 1996, had a 6-5, 40-30 advantage in the opening set but missed an easy overhead which would have given him the set.

"It was a very easy overhead which is impossible to miss," the Croat said. "I had the court all open and I went for something... I wanted to make a hole in the court instead of just placing the ball in the open."

After that miss, Kafelnikov won five straight points and raced to a 3-0 lead in the tiebreaker before holding on to win it 7-2.

Kafelnikov then broke Ivanisevic in the fourth

game of the second set with a backhand cross-court winner for a 3-1 lead.

But the Croat broke right back and the players traded two more service breaks on the way to a second tiebreak which Kafelnikov finally won 7-5 with a crisp forehand volley.

Ivanisevic felt he had played his best match of the week, but on important points Kafelnikov had the edge.

"In two tiebreaks, Yevgeny missed only one first serve," said the hard-serving Croat, who himself hit 14 aces on Sunday, giving him 65 for the week.

"If I had won the first set maybe it would have been a different story, but I didn't."

Martin wins Stockholm Open

In Stockholm, the home-court advantage didn't help Thomas Johansson.

Capitalizing on the Swede's sloppy serving, Todd Martin beat Johansson in three straight sets to win the Stockholm Open for the first time.

The 28-year-old American, who lost the final two years ago to another Swede, Thomas Enqvist, won 6-3, 6-4, 6-4 before a sellout crowd at the Royal Tennis Hall.

Johansson couldn't get his usual strong serves going against Martin. And he couldn't shake off the early jitters.

The American didn't serve well either in the first set, which featured five service breaks, including four in a row. But Johansson only managed to hold his serve once in the first set.

"It was a very strange match," Martin said. "I started off very well and Thomas started off very poorly. He was nervous."

And the fact that he was a little nervous made me a little nervous.

"That's why there were five breaks in the first set. That's not the type of tennis you'd expect us to play, especially on this (fast) court. But there's one thing I've learned over the last couple of years. You don't have to play great to win."

Martin became the first American winner of the Stockholm Open, one of the world's oldest indoor tournaments, since John McEnroe in 1985.

Martin, unseeded and ranked 21st on the ATP Tour going into the event, earned \$112,000 for his seventh career title.

It was the American's third victory in as many matches with Johansson.

Graf, Davenport reach Philly final

In Philadelphia, Germany's Steffi Graf and Lindsay Davenport of the US on Saturday advanced to the final of the \$450,000 Advantia Championships women's tournament.

Graf, who defeated Nathalie Tauziat of France last week did it again on Saturday in just over an hour 6-1 6-4. Graf improved to 21-0 against Tauziat without losing a set.

Graf will take a nine-match winning streak into the final against top-ranked Davenport, who swept past fifth-seed Monica Seles, 6-3 6-3 earlier on Saturday.

SPORTS

in brief

Mor loses in Las Vegas semis

Lior Mor lost in the semi-final of the \$50,000 Las Vegas tennis tournament yesterday, but he now breaks into the world's top 200 players.

In the ATP Tour rankings to be released today, 22-year-old Mor is expected to fill the 190th spot, becoming Israel's top-ranked player.

In the semi-final Mor lost to Cecil Mamiit from the United States, 6-1, 6-4.

Dudi Sela won the Jerusalem 2000 Open, the international tennis tournament for ages 14 and under, on Saturday, beating Andis Juska from Latvia 7-5, 6-2 in the final.

Heather Chat

Shearer to miss England friendly with Czechs

NEWCASTLE (Reuters) - England captain Alan Shearer will miss Wednesday's soccer friendly against the Czech Republic at Wembley.

The Newcastle striker injured a hamstring in Saturday's premier league match with Sheffield Wednesday.

Coach Glenn Hoddle could also be without Paul Scholes whose two goals helped Manchester United to a 3-2 win over Blackburn.

He is also suffering a hamstring strain.

Reports put Scholes's injury down to the Old Trafford pitch which has cut up in the last two or three games. Work started yesterday to dig up and re-lay it ahead of the next home match with Leeds in a fortnight.

Masterful Lara completes 36th century

KIMBERLEY, South Africa (Reuters) - West Indies captain Brian Lara hit a chanceless century, his 36th in first-class cricket, against Griqualand West yesterday.

Sixteen fours and two sixes boosted Lara to 101 in 161 minutes off 140 balls.

Lara arrived at the crease in the third over on the second day of the four-day game and a blistering assault on the bowling saw him on 87 not out at lunch.

His century was on the board 30 minutes into the second session but 10 minutes later he was caught in the covers.

West Indies were 327 for six by the close, a first innings lead of 56.

Lara and Shivnarine Chanderpaul (42) added 107 for the third wicket, then Darren Ganga (50) and Carl Hooper (64 not out) put on 86 for the sixth.

Ben Johnson arriving to seek sprinting talent

By HEATHER CHAT

Disgraced Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson arrives in Israel this week but he is unlikely to attract a rousing welcome such as that dished out to Diego Maradona and Kareem Abdul Jabbar.

For Johnson's seconds in the limelight of Seoul 1988 turned to shade overnight as he was dispossessed of both his world record in the 100 meters sprint and his Olympic gold medal.

His time of 9.79 seconds was wiped from the record books and his lifelong rival, Carl Lewis, took over as the gold medalist.

All that was left to Johnson was to try to pick up the pieces and present himself as the mangled party after being found to have used performance-enhancing anabolic steroids.

Currently banned for life from competing, Johnson has his own training school and will be on the lookout for promising Israeli talent.

His agent, Morris Chrobotek, coordinated the visit with Maccabi Tel Aviv Athletics Club chairman Efraim Biderman.

"Johnson will be present at training sessions of Maccabi at the Hadar Yosef stadium but athletes from other clubs will also attend," said Biderman yesterday.

He added that Johnson has six athletes from around the world now under his care in Canada with the intention of honing their skills for the Sydney Olympics in 2000.

The hopes are that an Israeli, possibly Tommy Cafri (with a best time of 10:34 seconds in the 100m) will be invited to join Johnson's program.

Besides the professional aspect, Johnson will also visit the popular tourist spots during his week-long visit.

Hull notches 1,000th point as Stars beat Bruins

BOSTON (AP) - Brett Hull broke a tie with his second goal of the game with 4:26 left, then got his 1,000th career point on an assist as the Dallas Stars ended the Boston Bruins' four-game unbeaten streak with a 3-1 win Saturday.

Hull, who began the season in 54th place with 987 points, reached 1,000 with an assist on Jere Lehtinen's empty-net goal with 34 seconds remaining. Hull and his father, Bobby, are the only father-son duo in NHL history to each collect 1,000 points. They are already the only father-son pair to have 500 goals apiece.

Capitals 5, Islanders 3
Andrei Nikolishin and James

Black scored goals 2:16 apart early in the second period during a four-goal spurt to give Washington a road win.

Sabres 6, Blackhawks 1

Michal Grosek scored twice as the Buffalo Sabres extended their league-best unbeaten streak to eight games with a home win over slumping Chicago.

Oilers 4, Canadiens 1

Bill Guerin scored his 11th and 12th goals of the season and Rem Murray also had two goals to lift Edmonton to a road win.

Maple Leafs 2, Senators 1

Kris King scored shorthanded early in the third period to lead host Toronto to only its second victory against the Eastern Conference this season.

Penguins 4, Panthers 0

Tom Barrasso stopped 23 shots and became the third Pittsburgh goaltender to register a shutout in

three weeks as Penguins won at home.

Flyers 6, Devils 1

Eric Lindros had two goals and a three assists as Philadelphia scored five third-period goals to win at home.

The victory enabled Flyers goaltender Ron Hextall to tie Bernie Parent for first place on the Flyers' all-time career list with 232 wins.

Blues 5, Predators 1

Al MacInnis and Pavol Demitra each got goal No. 8 as St. Louis matched its season high for scoring with a home victory.

Coyotes 4, Lightning 1

Keith Tkachuk had a goal and an assist as host Phoenix extended its unbeaten streak to eight games.

Jeremy Roenick, Rick Tocchet and rookie Daniel Briere also scored for the Coyotes, who entered the NHL in 1979 as the Winnipeg Jets and are off to the

franchise's best start ever at 8-2-2.

Darcy Tucker had the only goal for injury-depleted Tampa Bay, which was coming off an 8-1 loss Saturday night at Colorado and 10-2 defeat at home against the New York Rangers on Tuesday.

Mighty Ducks 1, Flames 0

Guy Hebert made 24 saves for his second shutout of the season as Anaheim won on the road.

Defenseman Mike Crowley scored the only goal of the game, blasting a slap shot from the blue line over the glove of Flames goalie Tyler Moss 12:54 into the first period.

Hurricanes 5, Kings 3

Keith Primeau had two goals and an assist and Robert Kron ended a 10-game drought by Carolina's power play as the Hurricanes won on the coast.

Ray Sheppard had a goal and an assist.



HOLIDAY ON ICE - Blackhawks' Doug Zmolek (4) mixes it up with Sabres Paul Kruse in first-period action.

EASTERN CONFERENCE									
Atlantic Division									
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA			
New Jersey	9	6	0	18	33	35			
Pittsburgh	7	4	4	18	42	38			
N.Y. Islanders	8	9	0	16	43	43			
Philadelphia	6	6	4	16	41	34			
N.Y. Rangers	4	7	5	13	38	45			
Northeast Division									
Toronto	6	6	2	10	58	50			
Buffalo	7	3	4	18	40	26			
Boston	6	7	4	16	40	32			
Ottawa	6	6	2	14	41	39			
Montreal	6	8	2	14	35	44			
Southeast Division									
Carolina	7	7	3	17	43	40			
Florida	6	6	3	15	33	41			
Tampa Bay	6	9	2	14	40	61			
Washington	5	7	3	13	33	40			

WESTERN CONFERENCE									
Central Division									
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA			
St. Louis	7	4	4	18	42	35			
Denver	8	7	0	16	44	37			
Nashville	6	8	1	13	38	44			
Chicago	4	10	2	10	34	60			
Northwest Division									
Edmonton	9	6	1	19	53	39			
Vancouver	8	6	2	17	49	39			
Calgary	6	8	2	14	42	45			
Colorado	5	8	2	12	41	46			
Pacific Division									
Dallas	9	3	2	20	37	27			
Phoenix	8	2	2	18	34	37			
Anaheim	5	6	4	14	34	36			
San Jose	5	9	3	13	38	46			
Los Angeles	5	9	3	10	33	35			

saves), 4:02 (0-0 third, 9-9). St. Louis, McLennan +3 (7-15). A-18,771.	
Florida	000-0
Pittsburgh	211-4
First Period-1, Pittsburgh, Barnes 6 (Stalke, Hatcher), 17:06 (pp). 2, Pittsburgh, Miller 1 (Sawicki, Mohlman), 17:53. Second Period-3, Pittsburgh, 3 (Weninger, Barnette), 14:06. Third Period-4, Pittsburgh, Barnes 7 (Olaj, Jany), 5:54 (pp). Shots on goal-Florida 15-8-2-25. Pittsburgh 21-11-10-46. Power-play Opportunities-Florida 0 of 5; Pittsburgh 2 of 6. Goals-Florida, Burke 4-4-3 (32 shots-28 saves). Pittsburgh, Barnette 3-3-5 (22-29). A-12,320	
Chicago	010-1
Buffalo	23-4
First Period-1, Buffalo, Holzner 5 (Woodley, Ziegler), 10:07 (pp). Second Period-2, Buffalo, Holzner 3 (Buffalo, Holzner), 10:07. Second Period-3, Buffalo, Groat 4 (Brown, Woodley), 1:04. 4, Buffalo, Sanderson 7 (Holzner, Ziemann), 4:44. 5, Chicago, Groat 2 (Groat, 2), 10:07. 6, Buffalo, Groat 5 (Shannon, Brown), 15:22. Third Period-7, Buffalo, Salari 4 (Ziemann, Sanderson), 5:23 (pp). hole on 10-17. Power-play Opportunities-Chicago 0 of 3; Buffalo 2 of 2. Goals-Chicago, Trifiro 1-1-0 (25 shots-16 saves). Trifiro (2-4-4 second, 17-15). Buffalo, Hasek 7-3-4 (15-14), Roloson (0-0 third, 6-8). A-18,955.	
New Jersey	010-1
Philadelphia	01-6
First Period-None. Second Period-1, Philadelphia, LaCasse 8 (Lindros, Desjardins), 15 (pp). New Jersey, 1 (Lindros), 14:40. Third Period-2, Philadelphia, Jones 3 (Lindros, LaCasse), 4:54. Philadelphia, Lindros 10 (Desjardins, Trifiro), 4:54. 5, Philadelphia, Lindros 1 (Forbes), 10:11. 6, Philadelphia, Lindros 11 (Forbes), 10:11. 7, Philadelphia, LaCasse 1 (Lindros), 10:11. 8, St. Louis, Young 2 (Conroy, Pellerin), 7:05. 9, St. Louis, Pellerin 1 (Chase, Eastwood), 13:54. Third Period-2, St. Louis, Pellerin 1 (Chase, Eastwood), 18:15-30. Power-play Opportunities-New Jersey 0 of 4; Philadelphia 1 of 2. Goals-Lindros 10, Lindros 11-1-1 (30 shots-34 saves). Philadelphia, MacLean 2-2-0 (18-17). A-18,642.	
Edmonton	013-4

Montreal	00-0-1
First Period-1, Montreal, Poulin 1 (Stevenson, Mansouri), 8:01. Second Period-2, Edmonton, Lumsden 2 (Gardner, Gosselin), 10:52. 3, Edmonton, Murray 4 (Grier), 1:02. 4, Edmonton, Gauthier 11 (Dewhurst, Milne), 7:55. 5, Edmonton, Gosselin 1 (Gardner, Stastny), 17:53 (pp). Shots on goal-Edmonton 7-12-27. Montreal 10-9-25-36. Power-play Opportunities-Edmonton 2 of 4; Montreal 0 of 4. Goals-Edmonton, Stastny 5-0-0 (38 shots-23 saves). Montreal, Theodore 3-4-0 (27-23), A-15,340.	
Ottawa	00-1-1
Toronto	011-2
First Period-None. Second Period-1, Toronto, Thomas 7 (Koroluk, Colton), 6:45. Third Period-2, Toronto, Klug 2 (Rabene), 5:21 (sh). 3, Ottawa, Anderson 1 (Gosselin), 17:53. Shots on goal-Ottawa 14-10-28. Toronto 19-10-25-38. Power-play Opportunities-Ottawa 0 of 4; Toronto 1 of 4. Goals-Toronto, Anderson 1-1-1 (27 shots-26 saves). Toronto, Gosselin 6-5-2 (28-27), A-15,725.	
Dallas	10-2-3
Eastern Division	10-0-1
First Period-None. Second Period-2 (Carier, Hainey), 2:23. 2, Dallas, Hull 5, 4:20. Second Period-None. Third Period-3, Dallas, Hull 6 (Madden), 18:24. 4, Dallas, Lushman 6 (Madden, Hainey), 17:54. Shots on goal-Dallas 10-11-33. Boston 11-10-2-23. Power-play Opportunities-Dallas 0 of 4; Boston 0 of 4. Goals-Dallas, Hull 5-0-0 (32 shots-27 saves). Boston, Dallas 5-4-4 (23-25), A-15,550.	
Washington	123-2-5
N.Y. Islanders	111-3
First Period-1, New York, Janssen 4 (Fischer, Lindholm), 7:54 (pp). Second Period-1 (Boyle, Baka), 18:48. Second Period-3, Washington, Blacksmith 1 (Samon, Lindholm), 2:55. 4, Washington, Lindholm 1 (Fischer, Janssen), 10:40. 5, New York, Ostas, 14:23. 6, New York, Lindor (Fischer, Lindholm), 17:50 (pp). Third Period-7, Washington, Lindholm 1 (Fischer, Janssen), 17:50. Shots on goal-Washington 18-16-34. New York 8-10-27. Shots on goal-New York 10-16-34. 2, New York 2 of 4. Goals-New York, Kozak 4-0-0 (28 shots-21 saves). Washington, Boyle 4-0-0 (28-24), Fleury 14-2-2 (28-19), A-14,850.	

HOLIDAY ON ICE - Blackhawks
period action.

Vols nip Razorbacks to hold top ranking

Kansas State upsets 'Huskers; UCLA clinches Rose Bowl

NASHVILLE (AP) — Tennessee needed an incredible stroke of luck to avoid being the second No. 1 team to lose in two weeks.

Even with the dramatic 28-24 win against No. 10 Arkansas on Saturday, the Volunteers could have fallen out of the top spot in the poll after No. 2 Kansas State beat No. 11 Nebraska 40-30.

In that game, host Kansas State's Michael Bishop ran for two touchdowns and threw for two, including an 11-yarder with 5:25 to go, as the Wildcats beat the Cornhuskers for the first time in 30 years and stated their case for being No. 1.

"I love it, I won't lie to you," said Jeff Kelly, who capped the victory with a 23-yard fumble return for a TD.

"I love it for our fans. I love it for our players. I love it for all our former players and for our coaching staff. But we still have games to go."

Tennessee, meanwhile, made its own argument after scoring the last 18 points against the Razorbacks. Travis Henry's 1-yard dive with 28 seconds left capped a final three minutes that almost defy belief.

"I believe in determination," Fulmer said when asked if he believes in miracles. "We got some help from then late, but we gave them some help in the first half. Those kinds of things tend to even out over the course of a game."

Arkansas (8-1, 5-1 Southeastern Conference) outplayed the Vols (9-0, 6-0) on their home field and appeared to have won when it held on fourth down and took possession at the Tennessee 49 with 1:54 left.

All the Razorbacks needed was a first down, or a punt to force the Vols to go a long way — something they had found hard to do against the Hog defense.

But on second down, quarterback Clint Stoerner, who threw for 274 yards and three touchdowns, tripped as he pulled away from the line of scrimmage. He put his right hand — with the ball in it — on the ground to try to regain his balance, and left the ball lying there.

"It was a sprintout pass and I was going to keep it, and somehow it dropped it," Stoerner said. "I don't know what happened."

Tennessee's Billy Raftery recovered at the Arkansas 43 with 1:43 left. Henry carried five straight times against the stunned Razorback defense for the score. He finished with 197 yards on 32 carries.



SHAKE A TAIL FEATHER — UCLA tailback Jermaine Lewis (23) runs past Washington defender Toure Butler to score Bruins' first-quarter touchdown in a 36-24 win over the host Huskies.

"We huddled up and Tee (Martin) and the offensive line told me to take it to the promised land," Henry said.

No. 2 Kansas St. 40
No. 11 Nebraska 30

Kansas State's momentous home victory kept the Wildcats (10-0, 7-0) on track for their first national title since 1956. The 12th-ranked team clinched the Big 12 North title, their first in the crown of any kind since 1934.

Bishop, alternately terrific and terrible, was 19-of-33 for 306 yards and carried 24 times for 136 yards.

However, he lost three fumbles and threw an interception. The loss gave Nebraska (8-3, 4-3) three regular-season defeats for the first time since 1977.

No. 3 UCLA 36
Washington 24

Visiting UCLA got a 77-yard punt return by Ryan Roques and five-field goals from Chris Sailer to clinch the Pac-10 championship and at least a trip to the Rose Bowl.

The Bruins (9-0, 7-0), No. 2 in the Bowl Championship Series rankings behind Tennessee this week, still have their sites on the

Fiesta Bowl that will determine the national title.

Washington (5-5, 3-4) must beat Washington State next week to avoid its first losing season in 22 years.

No. 4 Florida 33
South Carolina 14

Doug Johnson threw for 360 yards and four touchdowns, and Travis McGriff caught 13 passes for 227 yards as host Florida (9-1, 7-1 SEC) won its seventh straight to stay alive in the national title race.

South Carolina (1-9, 0-8) lost its ninth straight.

No. 5 Florida St. 24
Wake Forest 7

Mario Edwards set a school record with four interceptions and the Seminoles (10-1, 7-1) claimed the ACC title with the away win.

No. 6 Texas A&M 17
No. 13 Missouri 14

Russell Bynum's 39-yard field goal with 1:30 to play gave host Texas A&M at least a share of the Big 12 South title.

No. 7 Ohio St. 45, Iowa 14

David Boston caught two of Joe Germaine's three touchdown passes, and Joe Montgomery scored on

an 80-yard run for the visiting Buckeyes.

No. 15 Michigan 27
No. 8 Wisconsin 10

In Ann Arbor, Clarence Williams rushed for 121 yards, and Anthony Thomas added 102 yards and two touchdowns as No. 15 Michigan amassed 257 yards rushing against Wisconsin (9-1, 6-1 Big Ten).

The Wolverines (8-2, 7-0) can ensure their first back-to-back trips to the Rose Bowl in six years with a win Saturday at Ohio State. No. 12 Notre Dame 30, Navy 9

Autry Denson became Notre

Dame's career rushing leader and the most lopsided rivalry in college football history stayed that way as the visiting Irish (8-1) beat Navy (3-6) for the 35th straight time.

No. 14 Tulane 49
Army 35

Shaun King threw for three touchdowns and ran for three as Tulane (9-0, 5-0 Conference USA) clinched at least a tie for its first conference title since 1949 with an away win. King finished with 332 yards on 23-of-31 passing, and gained 135 yards on 17 carries against Army (2-7, 2-3).

No. 19 Penn St. 41
Northwestern 10

Eric McCoo ran for 127 yards and turned his own fumble into a 57-yard touchdown for host Penn State (7-2, 4-2) as Northwestern (2-9, 0-8) finished winless in the Big Ten three years after making the Rose Bowl.

No. 20 Oregon 51
Arizona State 19

Akili Smith passed for 397 yards and four first-half touchdowns as Oregon (8-2, 5-2 Pac-10) beat visiting Arizona State (5-5, 4-3).

No. 21 Virginia 30
North Carolina 13

Thomas Jones ran for 180 yards and one TD, and host Virginia (8-2, 6-2 ACC) kept North Carolina (4-5, 3-3) out of the end zone.

Top 25 College Football

How the top 25 teams in The AP's college football poll fared this week:

1. Tennessee (9-0) beat No. 10 Arkansas 28-24.
2. Kansas State (10-0) beat No. 11 Nebraska 40-30.
3. UCLA (9-0) beat Washington 36-24.
4. Florida (9-1) beat South Carolina 33-14.
5. Florida State (10-1) beat Wake Forest 28-24.
6. Texas A&M (10-1) beat No. 13 Missouri 17-14.
7. Ohio State (9-1) beat Iowa 45-14.
8. Wisconsin (9-1) lost to No. 15 Michigan 27-10.
9. Arizona (10-1) beat California 27-23.
10. Arkansas (8-1) lost to No. 1 Tennessee 28-24.
11. Nebraska (8-3) lost to No. 2 Kansas State 40-30.
12. Notre Dame (8-1) beat Navy 30-0.
13. Missouri (7-3) lost to No. 6 Texas A&M 17-14.
14. Tulane (9-0) beat Army 49-35.
15. Michigan (8-2) beat No. 8 Wisconsin 27-10.
16. Virginia Tech (7-1) at Syracuse.
17. Georgia (6-2) at Texas Tech.
18. Texas (7-2) at Texas Tech.
19. Penn State (7-2) beat Northwestern 41-10.
20. Oregon (8-2) beat Arizona State 51-19.
21. Virginia (8-2) beat North Carolina 30-13.
22. Georgia Tech (7-2) beat Clemson 24-21.
23. Air Force (9-1) beat No. 25 Wyoming 10-3.
24. Miami (6-2) beat Temple 42-7.
25. Wyoming (8-2) lost to No. 23 Air Force 10-3.

Arizona, DePaul frosh show their stuff in NCAA hoops action

ALBUQUERQUE (AP) — This could be a banner season for freshmen. Arizona and reloaded DePaul certainly hope so. No. 18 Arizona started two freshmen Friday night and got 26 points from senior guard Jason Terry to beat No. 9 Tennessee 73-72 at the BCA Classic.

DePaul got an impressive debut from its three freshmen starters and nearly upset No. 20 New Mexico. The Lobos survived 82-81, getting a winning layup from Lamont Long with 9.5 seconds left.

Long scored 29 points and Kevin Henry scored a career-high 24 points. The two also combined to hit 10 3-pointers.

DePaul, which was 7-23 last season, should be much better this season if the freshmen trio of Quentin Richardson, Bobby

Simmons and Lance Williams continue to play like they did against New Mexico.

Long and Henry led New Mexico back from a 15-point first-half deficit (42-27) when the Blue Demons hit 20 of 33 shots (60.6 percent). And New Mexico had to shoot 62 percent in the second half to avoid the upset.

Arizona guard Jason Terry, who along with center A.J. Bramlett are the only starters back from last year's team that was 30-5, scored 26 points and Bramlett and freshman Justin Wessel blocked two shots in the final 10 seconds.

Five Arizona freshmen played extensively. Of those, Michael Wright scored 13, Reuben Douglas 8 and Wessel 6.

No. 5 Michigan St. 89
NE Louisiana 58

Antonio Smith scored 16 points

and Mateen Cleaves dished out 11 assists for the Spartans.

It was the eighth double-digit assist game for Cleaves, Big Ten player of the year last season when he led the Spartans to a share of the conference regular season championship and the round of 16 in the NCAA tournament. He also scored 10 points.

Mike Smith had 13 points for Northeast Louisiana, which dressed only nine players yet trailed only 37-30 at halftime. Michigan State's depth began to show in the second half as the Spartans built a 48-34 advantage.

No. 8 Kansas 80
Gonzaga 66

Kenny Gregory awakened host Kansas with 13 of his 18 points in the second half and the Jayhawks struggled to extend their home winning streak to 61 games.

Matt Santangelo, the leading returning scorer in the West Coast Conference who averaged 16.2 points a game last year, had 24 points for the Bulldogs.

But 19 of those were in the first half, and Gonzaga collapsed midway through the second half as the Jayhawks, who have not lost a home opener since 1972, pulled away. Kansas hasn't lost at home since 1994.

Eric Chenoweth also had 18 points and Nick Bradford, forced into the role of power forward because of a foot injury to T.J. Pugh, had 16 for Kansas.

No. 11 N Carolina 87
Appalachian St. 64

Brendan Haywood scored a career-high 19 points as host North Carolina began life without Antawn Jamison and Vince Carter. North Carolina also got 17 points

from Ed Cota, who marched his career high.

Marshall Phillips led the Mountaineers with 18 points.

The 7-foot, 270-pound Haywood scored 11 of North Carolina's first 13 points on layups and dunks, easily surpassing his career high of eight points in the game's opening five minutes.

Haywood didn't miss a shot in six attempts en route to a 17-point first half as the Tar Heels built an 11-point lead.

The Mountaineers closed to 44-37 with 16 minutes left before Cota sank a 3-pointer, hit a runner in the lane, fed Ademola Okulaja for a three-point play and added two free throws as the Tar Heels opened a 60-42 lead.

No. 16 Purdue 101
NC-Asheville 64

Jaraan Cornell scored 20 points.

14 in the first half, and Michael Robinson had 15 as Purdue rolled. Purdue's full-court pressure forced North Carolina-Asheville into 31 turnovers. The Bulldogs committed turnovers on their first 10 possessions and failed to make a basket in the first six minutes.

Top 25 College Basketball

How the top 25 teams in The AP's college basketball poll fared Friday and Saturday

1. Duke (1-0) beat Fairfield 88-66.
2. Connecticut (0-0) did not play.
3. Stanford did not play.
4. Kentucky (0-0) did not play.
5. Michigan State (1-0) beat Northeast Louisiana 88-68.
6. Maryland (1-0) beat Western Carolina 73-46.
7. Temple (2-0) did not play.
8. Kansas (1-0) beat Gonzaga 80-68.
9. Tennessee (0-1) lost to No. 18 Arizona 75-72.
10. Utah (0-0) did not play.
11. North Carolina (1-0) beat Appalachian State 87-64.
12. UCLA (0-0) did not play.
13. Oklahoma State (0-0) did not play.
14. Washington (0-0) did not play.
15. Cincinnati (0-0) did not play.
16. Purdue (1-0) beat North Carolina-Asheville 101-64.
17. Xavier (0-0) did not play.
18. Arizona (1-0) beat No. 9 Tenn 73-72.
19. Arkansas (0-0) did not play. Next vs. Jackson State.
20. New Mexico (1-0) beat DePaul 82-81.
21. Syracuse (0-0) did not play.
22. Indiana (3-0) beat Indiana State 76-70.
23. Rhode Island (2-0) lost to Providence 87-63.
24. Massachusetts (0-0) did not play.
25. Texas Christian (1-1) did not play.

The Shark's in a shootout

THOUSAND OAKS, Calif. (AP) — Greg Norman could not have written the script any better at his own Shark Shootout.

Norman more than held his own during the best-ball format in the second round Saturday as he and Steve Elkington birdied the final three holes to stay in the thick of the wide-open tournament.

Davis Love III and Brad Faxon played the first 11 holes in 9-under and finished with a 10-under 62 to lead at 130, but the Norman team and four others were only one stroke behind. Sunday's final round is a scramble format at Sherwood Country Club.

"Now we've got a true shootout," Norman said after he and Elkington finished with a 64. "It's going to be an interesting day tomorrow."

John Daly and Fuzzy Zoeller, who led after the first round of alternate shots, had a 66 and were joined at 131 by the teams of Scott Hoch-Costantino Rocca,

Billy Andrade-Jay Haas and Tom Kite-Billy Mayfair.

The three teams at 134 included Fred Couples-Justin Leonard, whose round of 65 was marred when neither managed better than a double-bogey 6 at the seventh.

Norman, who was sidelined for seven months after shoulder surgery, was far from perfect, and still not ready for a tournament that counts. But he appeared to be making great progress with each day, each swing and each shot that requires some touch.

"I was pretty much in every hole, which was good," Norman said. "The big deal today was I started hitting more feel shots. I was chipping good and had good visualization from that aspect. And I drove the ball great, which was a big plus."

"All in all, the same steady improvement. It's coming along nicely."

Norman is the host of the event, which is celebrating its 10-year anniversary, but he has never won it.

Howarth a success for Wales

LONDON (Reuters) — Eligible to play for New Zealand, England and Croatia, former All Black Shane Howarth elected to represent Wales on Saturday with electrifying effect.

Not since JPR Williams retired has a Welsh fullback created such havoc in an opposing defense as Howarth managed against South Africa at Wembley.

His teammates were similarly inspired in an epic match won 28-20 by the world champions after the score was tied 20-20 in the last minute of normal time.

Those Welsh supporters who had made the journey to London were rewarded with a performance redolent of the passion and fire of the great 1970s sides, in which Williams was a key player.

Lack of control and a possible break in concentration when a streaker weaved his way between stumbling security guards for the best part of three minutes cost Wales and allowed South Africa to pursue their grand slam dream.

Howarth, who played four tests for the All Blacks in 1994, is one of the new breed of international

footballer playing his talents.

He plays for Manchester Sale in England and at the age of 30 has decided to extend his international career courtesy of a Welsh grand-father born in Cardiff.

Henry has taken charge of Wales a year before they host the World Cup in the knowledge that the last outing against South Africa in June was a 96-13 massacre.

With his top players available again, he has apparently infused self-belief in the Welsh camp and could, perhaps should, have started his reign with a victory.



Spilled

Australian rider Vicki Foletta falls at the water jump on her mount Kernahan at the Adelaide International Horse Trials. (Reuters)

سكرا من الاربعين

